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I.—SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS OF ABLAUT.

In order that no one may imagine that the writer has taken it upon himself to attempt a new and complete treatment of ablaut, and that, too, deliberately and in cold blood, it may be stated that the following observations are the outgrowth of what was intended simply as a statement of position introductory to a discussion of 'Brugmann's Law.' But as the introduction has grown to exceed the limits of the main article, and as, after all, very few of the points discussed here have a necessary bearing on the problem mentioned, it has seemed wise to sever the connection. Within the last few years several important discussions of general questions of ablaut have appeared. It is sufficient to mention those of Bartholomae (Bz. B. 17), Kretschmer (K. Z. 31), Bechtel (*Hauptprobleme d. indog. Lautlehre*) and Streitberg (I. F. III). It may be said with truth that, as regards ablaut, we are in the midst of a second 'Sturm und Drang' period, in which the follower of this line of work feels the necessity of 'pulling himself together' and seeing where he stands. Many of the questions raised are of such a nature that the answer to them must ever remain problematical, since they have to do with changes which took place in a period of Indo-European development far beyond our control. The consideration of such questions has its interest and its value too. But one must beware of placing the conclusions on a level with those arrived at in matters pertaining to that period of Indo-European history immediately preceding the separation. The method employed is the same in both cases, but the further we

go back the greater the chance of error—that is, that the true factors may have become obscured by others really secondary.

But it is not merely in these remoter questions regarding the ultimate origin of the vowel variations that doubt exists. There is no complete unanimity of opinion as to what types should be recognized as Indo-European. It is even claimed by some—notably Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, 37 f.—that all attempts to set up a limited number of series, like the six which are recognized in Brugmann's *Grundriss*, are futile. But this standpoint of Noreen's is far too radical. An hypothetical ablaut-system, like our reconstructed Indo-European forms, is a matter of convenience. It expresses briefly the opinion of the time upon the interrelations of the various vowels, shows what are the normal variations and what sets of changes belong together. The best ablaut-system is the one which gives the clearest summary of related types. Now, while it is true that there are certain interchanges of vowels which find no place in the six series of Hübschmann in their accepted form, and which, nevertheless, may date back to the Indo-European period, yet Noreen's own method has more serious faults. In setting up some sixteen varieties of vowel changes and making these all co-ordinate, he separates much that unquestionably belongs together. For example, he treats the variations of *pēd* : *pōd*- (Lat. *pēs* : Dor. *πῶς*, §12), of *ped*- : *pod* (Lat. *pedes* : Grk. *ποδός*, §13), of *ped*- : *pōd*- (Lat. *pedis* : Dor. *πῶς*, §15), of *pēd* : *ped* (Lat. *pēs* : *pedis*, §24) and of *pōd*- : *pod*- (*πῶς* : *ποδός*, §26) as if they were as independent and unrelated to one another as is the variation *ā* : *a* (§23) to any of these. And, vice versa, in combining the variation of *ē* : *ō* in *τιθημι* : *θωμός* with that of *vēnimus* : *βωμός* (§12) he brings together things which ought to be kept distinctly apart. Noreen's system is intended to be so flexible as to offer a place for every conceivable variation of vowel, but if a student should base his ideas solely on such a scheme, he would fail to recognize many of the most certain and essential facts of ablaut.

Let us consider some of these certain facts with a view to the best practical arrangement, and of the various types let us choose for illustration the one in which the normal form is *ey*. The variations in the order usually followed are: *u*, *ū*, *ey*, *oy*, *ēy*, *ōy* (or *u*, *ū*, *ye*, *yo*, *yē*, *yō*). In Brugmann's *Grundriss* and elsewhere the first two, under the name of *Tiefstufen* or low grades, are set over against the last four, which, under the name of *Hochstufen*

or high grades, are designated by numbers as 1, 2, 3, 4. But it is clear that the 'Hochstufen' 3 and 4 ($\bar{e}u$, $\bar{o}u$) are in a class by themselves as against 1 and 2 (eu , ou), and a special term for these, 'Dehnstufen' or lengthened grades, has been suggested and has met with deserved approval. Further, there is a special relationship between eu and $\bar{e}u$ as compared with ou , $\bar{o}u$. We may simply speak of the *e*- and *o*-forms or make use of Victor Henry's term 'deflected' for the *o*-forms. Again, it is universally recognized that there is a special relationship between \bar{u} and $\bar{e}u$.¹ Beyond question we have to do with three distinct kinds of variation: 1) that of strong and weak, as $eu : u$; 2) a qualitative change, as $eu : ou$; 3) a quantitative variation, as $eu : \bar{e}u$. These respective interrelations are illustrated by the following scheme, which to my mind is preferable to the usual arrangement:—

	Weak.	Strong.
Short	u	normal { eu/ou } deflected { $\bar{e}u/\bar{o}u$ }
Long	\bar{u}	

It sometimes happens that one kind of variation is substituted for another, as, for example, that of $u : \bar{u}$ in place of original $u : eu$, occasioned by the analogy of $e : \bar{e}$ and $a : \bar{a}$. It is probable that the inflectional type represented by Skt. *dhís*, gen. *dhiyás*, *bhrís*, gen. *bhruvás*, *gír*, gen. *girás*, *púr*, gen. *purás*, originated in this way. Cf. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 174; Bartholomae, I. F. I 183, and the literature cited; Streitberg, I. F. III 334-5.

¹ It is impossible to confine this variation of $\bar{e}u$ (or \bar{u}) : \bar{u} to roots of the heavy series, and I cannot account for the following words of Streitberg, I. F. III 306 f.: "Hiermit ist aber ein neues Kriterium zur Scheidung ursprünglicher und gedehnter Langdiphthonge gegeben. Denn die durch Steigerung entstandenen Langdiphthonge heben sich von den primären dadurch deutlich ab, dass ihre Schwundstufe regelmässig kurzen Vokal besitzt. Am schärfsten tritt diese Thatsache vielleicht beim *s*-Aorist hervor, wo neben den langen Vokalen des aktiven Indicativs ausnahmslos kurzvokalische Schwundstufen erscheinen. Ein langer Schwundstufenvokal ist hier unerhört. Vgl. z. B. *dkṣī* neben *dkṣam*." But it is the object of Streitberg's article to show that the lengthened forms, including such as *dkṣam*, go back to dissyllabic forms, and at the same time the connection of the long weak forms with dissyllabic roots (*bhūds bhūvitum*) is beyond question and maintained by Streitberg himself; cf. l. c., p. 385: "Die Vokallänge der Schwundstufe giebt aber Kunde von der Gestalt der Vollstufe. Diese ist zweisilbig gewesen. Darauf deutet auch ausserdem aind. *bhūvitum*, *bhavitā-*, *bhavitra-*." The two statements do not harmonize. On the ablaut in the Sanskrit *s*-aorist cf. below, p. 274.

One of the most interesting examples of this secondary ablaut-variation is seen in the Slavic iteratives which are of denominative origin. Denominatives with the vowel *ě* in the root syllable were associated with simple verbs having *e* in the root syllable, the interchange *e* : *ě* becoming typical; e. g. *-lěkati* iter. to *tekq*, *tešti* 'flow,' *-mětati* to *meštq*, *metati* 'throw,' etc. Again, denominatives with *a* (= I. E. *ā* and *ō*) in the root syllable were associated with verbs with *o* (I. E. *a* and *o*), giving the variation *o* : *a*; e. g. *-badati* to *bodq*, *bosti* 'stab,' *-ganjati* to *goniti*, this last itself an iterative (of the 'causative' formation) to *gnati*, *ženq* 'strike.' The variation of long and short vowel had in this way become so typical that from verbs with *i* or *ū* in the root arose iteratives with *i*, and *y*, as *čitati* 'read' to *čita* 'count,' *-sypati* to *-sūnqti* 'sleep.' This was extended even to verbs with *ir*, the weak form of *er*, as *birati* to *berq*, *birati* 'collect.' Cf. Leskien, Handbuch d. altbulg. Spr., p. 15 f.

The same phenomenon appears in the Lithuanian preterits. After the analogy of the types pres. *keliū* : pret. *kėliau*, *kariū* : *koriau* arose *giriū* : *gyriau*, *burīū* : *būriau*, etc.

So in Greek the original ablaut of the present suffix *-neu* : *-nu* (Skt. *-no* : *-nu*) has been replaced by *vū* : *vu*, owing to the influence of *vū* : *va*.¹

A possible example of the opposite substitution in proethnic times is Skt. *çēte*, Av. *saēlē*, Grk. *κείρας* beside Av. *sāiti*. We should expect Skt. *çite*, which would stand in the same relation to Av. *sāiti* as Skt. *šūte* to *sāuti*. J. Schmidt, Pluralbildung, 255, speaks of two low-grade forms to *āi*—namely, Skt. *e* and *i*, as noted by Schulze, K. Z. 27, 422. But Schulze at least does not mean that the *e* is a real low grade, but only that it holds the position of a weak form. Further, in the aorist forms like *āneqi*

¹ I rather suspect the same thing in Lat. *suspiciō* and *conviciūm*. Nearly all the words which used to be cited as showing a phonetic change of *ē* to *i* have found another explanation, but in these two words (as well as in *dēliniō*, where I would follow Osthoff) even Solmsen, K. Z. 34, 15, admits the change. Yet even under the conditions which Solmsen lays down there are so many exceptions to be explained away that some other explanation of the two words would be welcome. And it seems quite possible that after the analogy of *collēgium* to *legō*, *contāgium* to *tangō*, *exāmen* (from *ex-āgmen*) to *agō*, etc., there arose at a later period to *suspiciō* (from **suspecio*) a noun *suspiciō*, and to *con-vicō* (from **con-vecō* or **con-vocō*; cf. Solmsen, Stud. z. lat. Sprachgeschichte, p. 17) a noun *conviciūm*. It is further possible that the *i* of *instigō* to *-stinguō* is due to the analogy of *sēdare* to *sedeō*, etc.

to *ánāiṣam* we may have a similar phenomenon. Cf. Johansson, K. Z. 32, 509, and below, p. 274.

If we pass to the somewhat slippery ground covered by the discussions as to the ultimate origin of the ablaut changes, the distinction of the different types of variation is still useful. It is clear that these must be due to three distinct causes, and may well have arisen in totally different periods of the parent speech. For only one kind of variation is the cause perfectly clear and beyond dispute. No one at present doubts that the relation of Skt. *émi* to *imás* reflects original conditions, and that the low-grade comes from the high-grade form by loss of the (stress) accent. For the understanding of the other two types we are less fortunately situated. Whatever were the original factors governing these variations, they are nowhere reflected with such clearness, perhaps because they operated at a remoter period and have been exposed longer to cross-influences.

In regard to the qualitative difference it is believed by many that the Greek interchange of *πατήρ* : *δομopάτωρ*, *δοτήρ* : *δώτωρ*, etc., is a sufficient indication that this too is due to accentual conditions. Others reject this absolutely, either on the ground that the historical evidence is conflicting or that it is in itself improbable that even a pitch accent should have any such marked effect on the quality of vowels. The suggestion of Baudouin de Courtenay, I. F. IV 53 ff., that the variation depends on the character of the following consonant, the *o* representing a depalatalization of the *e*, is perhaps fully as plausible on physiological grounds. But the attempt to bring the actual facts even approximately into harmony with it would lead to results calculated to overawe even the boldest glottogonic speculator. Take, for instance, the characteristic variation of *e* : *o* between present and perfect, i. e. **bherō* : **bebhora*. One would assume, perhaps, that the following consonant was palatal or not according to the character of the following vowel, that in the present the palatal *r* was generalized from forms like **bhereto*, and in the perfect the non-palatal *r* from **bebhora*.

The relation of *ēu* : *eu*, *ēi* : *ei*, etc., has been a much agitated point within the last few years. The idea has been in the air for some time that the origin of the 'Dehnstufen' or lengthened vowels was to be sought in a kind of compensatory lengthening consequent upon the reduction or loss of the vowel of the following syllable. The most serious attempt to formulate a law and to

exemplify it in the various categories is that of Streitberg, in a paper presented at a meeting of the American Philological Society at Chicago in 1893, and appearing in its final form in I. F. III 305 ff. This treatise, which in any event must be recognized as 'epoch-making,' has been subjected to a valuable criticism by Bloomfield in a paper read at the meeting of the American Philological Association at Philadelphia, in December, 1894, and now printed in vol. XXVI of the Transactions of this body. In spite of Bloomfield's well-taken objections, the writer has a strong conviction that Streitberg's main idea is correct and that the loss of a mora in a following syllable has been a most important factor in the production of the lengthened vowels. It is a theory which is perfectly rational on *a priori* grounds, and no other such has been offered. If it is true that the historical evidence is not so unmistakable as Streitberg in his zeal would have it appear, and if the theory leaves difficulties unsurmounted, yet this does not seem to be sufficient ground for rejecting it *in toto*. It appears to me that a theory which deals with such a remote problem cannot be expected to meet all the requirements which we demand in the case of a more tangible phenomenon. But—for the same reason we cannot accept such a theory with the same degree of security. Extreme scepticism is preferable to the attitude which raises such a theory too hastily to a dogma. To my mind it is premature to assume that this mora-compensation was the sole factor, and that all instances of lengthened vowels must be explained on this basis. Aside from the analogical influence of words formed from the so-called heavy roots, which certainly must be reckoned with, who shall assert in the case of such a remote problem that there were no other purely physiological processes of lengthening; for example, the compensative lengthening of the kind observed in historical times as attendant on consonant reduction and loss (*ēs* from *ens*, etc.)? It is not necessary to suppose that there was only one factor. There may well have been several.

And, further, confining ourselves to the principle of the 'Morenersatz,' it does not seem to me that we can regard as final Streitberg's or any other exact formulation of the law. Streitberg restricts the lengthening to accented short vowels in open syllables. But even under these conditions it is not universal. Bloomfield points out that the continued existence of I. E. *bhōro-s* (φόρο-ς), which is supposed to have changed to *bhōrs* (φώρ), is unaccounted for. And probably every one who has read the article carefully

has felt this difficulty (cf. also Michels, I. F. IV 60, who suggests a confusion brought about by variously accented forms). The Sanskrit dissyllabic forms like *cāritum*, *bhāvitum*, etc., would have no right to exist under a strict interpretation of Streitberg's law. It is clear that *éxə* and *éx*, which we may distinguish as uncontracted and contracted forms, do exist side by side, and that the development of *éxə* to *éx* must have taken place only under certain conditions which subsequent levellings have obscured. It is quite conceivable that the intervening consonant played a rôle; for example, that the lengthening was effected only through the medium of sonorous sounds. That is, *éṇə*, *élə*, etc., became *éṇ*, *él*, etc., but *étə*, *égə*, etc., remained. Then *eṇə* and *ét* arose respectively by analogy.

A word as to 'dissyllabic roots.' I believe that no one can compile the characteristic formations of Sanskrit roots in final *i*, *u*, *r*, *m* and *n*, as the writer has done for his own satisfaction by the aid of Whitney's Roots, without being convinced (with Kretschmer, Bechtel and many others) that de Saussure was fully justified in assuming a specific relation between the long weak forms and the 'udatta' roots of the Hindu grammarians. The parallelism of *bhātá-s* : *bhāvitum*, *pūtá-s* : *pāvitum*, *hātá-s* : *hāvītave*, *kīrṇá-s* : *karita*, *ṣīrṇá-s* : *ṣāritos*, *cīrṇá-s* : *cāritum*, *jātá-s* : *jānitos*, *khātá-s* : *khānitum*, *dāmtá-s* : *damitā*, *kāmtá-s* : *kamitā* and others cannot be ascribed to chance. In its relation to the weak *bhū-* the unit of the strong form is *bhavi-*, not *bhav*; I. E. *bheuyə*, not *bhey*; and if *bhū* is the root in its weak form, then *bheuyə* is the root in its strong form. Roots are only abstractions differing for different periods, and it is evident that for the period in which the variation of strong and weak forms arose the proper abstraction is **bheuyə*, giving us a 'dissyllabic root.' This has nothing to do with the question of ultimate roots. It is not at all inconsistent with the preceding to suppose that the *ə* of **bheuyə* is really a suffix. And to me this is extremely probable. The monosyllabic forms like *bhey-* cannot be from *bheuyə*, since this would, according to Streitberg's theory, give *bhēu*. We have rather side by side **bhey* and **bheuyə*, the last being a unit in its relation to *bhū*.¹

¹ It would be more suitable to speak of *dissyllabic forms of roots* than of dissyllabic roots. For it is entirely erroneous to suppose that we can divide roots sharply into dissyllabic and monosyllabic. In Sanskrit, where the distinction is clearest, the best criterion is the presence or absence of *i* before

These dissyllabic root-forms being parallel to $\bar{e}i$, $\bar{e}u$, etc., in their relation to the low grade, our scheme up to this point is:

	Weak.	Strong.
Short	u	$e\bar{u}/ou$
Long	\bar{u}	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{e}u/\bar{ou} \text{ contracted} \\ e\bar{u}\bar{o}/ou\bar{o} \text{ uncontracted} \end{array} \right.$

A further question is whether we have not to recognize another contracted form of dissyllabic roots in the much-discussed type with a final long vowel (e. g. Skt. *prā*, Grk. $\pi\lambda\eta$, Lat. *plē*, etc.). Brugmann's hypothesis of suffixes \bar{e} , \bar{o} and \bar{a} added to the weakest form of the root (i. e. *pl-ē*; cf. also Kretschmer, K. Z. 31, 404) is without doubt the simplest. But, at the same time, few scholars are able to resist the impression that the ultimate origin is to be sought not in the addition of a new element, but in a phonetic development of the dissyllabic root-form parallel to that which

the verbal suffixes *-tu-* and *-tava-* and the noun suffix *-tar-*; but even here we frequently find side by side forms with and without the i . In such cases the classification of the Hindu grammarians is often arbitrary. For example, *ni* is classed as anudatta in spite of *ndyitum* beside *nētum*, both from the same period, while *sah* is udatta in spite of *sōdhum* beside *sdhitum*. In the case of *stāritum*: *stīrṇd-* beside *stārtum*: *stīrd-*, they set up two roots, a *stī* (*star*), present *stīrṇōmi*, anudatta, and a *stī*, present *stīrṇāmi*, udatta. Cf. also Kretschmer, K. Z. 31, 395. If we take any other category of forms the confusion is greater. In the future the dissyllabic form is generalized in the case of roots in final r (e. g. *kariṣyādi* to *kārtum* as well as *carīṣyādi* to *cāritum*), and appears in several roots in $-n$ and $-m$ the infinitive of which shows the monosyllabic form (*haniṣyādi* to *hāntum*, *gamisyādi* to *gāntum*). The passive shows a distinction in the case of roots in $-r$ (*kriyāte*: *kṛtd-*, *kārtum*, but *kāryāte*: *kārṇd*; *striyāte*: *stīrd-*, *stārtum*, but *stīryāte*: *stīrṇd-*, *stāritum*), while there is none in the case of roots in i and u (*grūyāte*: *grūtd-*, *grōtum* as well as *bhūyāte*: *bhūtd-*, *bhūvitum*). In the desiderative of all roots in $-i$, $-u$, $-r$, $-m$ and $-n$ the dissyllabic form is generalized. That is, we always have either *-ayi*, *-asi*, etc., or the corresponding weak form \bar{i} , \bar{u} , etc.; cf. *cikīṣa-*, *ṣuṣrūṣa-*, *didhīṣa-*, *jigāṛisa-*, etc. (Whitney, Skt. Gram., §1028).

The inflection of the singular of the s -aorist with its uniform $v\ddot{r}ddhi$ rests also upon a generalization of the dissyllabic form. In *drāutsam*, etc., the $v\ddot{r}ddhi$ is probably analogical; cf. Streitberg, I. F. III 396. The *rudh* in the middle is normal. But in roots ending in i , u and r the original types must have been: 1) dissyllabic formation *dnāisam*: $\ast d\bar{n}iṣi$, 2) monosyllabic *dnēgam*: $\ast d\bar{n}iṣi$. In the singular the dissyllabic form was generalized. In the plural we have for roots in r usually the short weak form; e. g. *dkṛsi*, sometimes the long as *dkṛṣata*. In roots in u , i this monosyllabic type was lost. We have either \bar{u} as in *ahūṣata*, or more usually e or o , which has taken the place of \bar{u} , \bar{i} ; cf. also Johansson, K. Z. 32, 509, and above, p. 270.

results in the strengthened forms *ēu*, *ēi*, etc. Certain it is that, though there is more often no ablaut change, weak forms are not infrequent, and these regularly with the long weak grade; as, for example, Skt. *ṣūnā-s* beside *ṣvātrā-s*, *hūtā-s* beside Av. *zbātar*, *jūtā-s* beside *jyāsyati*, *jā-nā-ti* (but *jnā-tā-s*) beside *jnātum*, *stī-mā-* (but *styā-nā-s*) beside *styā-ya-te*, and others.

Of the various theories advanced to explain the phonetic process resulting in *īē*, *plē*, etc., that of direct metathesis, revived by Michels, I. F. IV 58 ff., seems to me the least satisfactory. Not so much because no hint is given as to the conditions under which this metathesis took place, for in such remote problems one cannot expect anything approaching a strict demonstration. But admitting the metathesis, the vowel-variation is not accounted for. We might have *īē* from *ēi* and *īō* from *ōi*, but *īā*, if derived from *āi*, would belong to the *a*-series, which is not the case. Well-known examples like *īā* (Lat. *iānua*), *plā* (Grk. *πλή-σμαι*), *trā* (Lat. *in-trā-re*), etc., belong to roots of the *e*-series (*eī*, *pet*, *ter*, etc.), and I do not know of a single instance in which the simple root-form is of the *a* series.

The explanation advanced by Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 190 ff., is far more plausible. As Streitberg operates with a development of *pēle* to *pēl*, so Bechtel supposes a development of *pēlē* to *plē*, *bhesē* to *psē*, supporting it by a reference to the existence of *rū* beside *eru* in *ῥῦρῑρ* : *ἑρύω*, etc. (Fröhde, BzB. 9, 122; cf. also now Schulze, Quaest. Epic. 317⁴). In the same way he explains *ptā* from *petā* (or, in accordance with his view, *peta*). Again, a dissyllabic root with final *o* might appear as a monosyllabic form with final *ō* (cf. *ῥνομα* : Lat. *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma*); but in the majority of forms of the type *gnō* (*γνωρός*, Lat. *nōtus*) the *ō* is the result of direct ablaut to *ē* or *ā*. The strongest argument for Bechtel's theory is the fact that it accounts for the agreement between the monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms in the quality of their vowels, an agreement which is too marked to be attributed to chance.¹

The long weak forms also demand some further consideration. It is beyond all doubt that *ī* and *ū* are often the result of contraction of *i+ə* and *u+ə*. This is evident enough, for example, in Skt. *īpsāmi* (desiderative to *āp*), which must represent **i-əp-sō*, *i* belonging to the reduplication, *ə* to the root. And the paral-

¹ This did not escape the notice of de Saussure (cf. *Système primitif*, 271), who, however, considered the Greek forms as weak, like Skt. *īr*, *-ā*, *-ān*; cf. below, p. 280 f.

lelism of *dhē* : *dhə* suggests that the weak form of *dhēi* was originally *dhəi*, then with contraction *dhī* (Skt. *dhī-tā-s*). Cf. especially Kretschmer, K. Z. 31, 380 ff.; Bartholomae, BzB. 17, 130. But the contraction has not always taken place. It is necessary to recognize uncontracted weak forms *əi*, *iə* and *əu*, *ue*. Such a form is assumed by Kretschmer and others in explanation of the Greek nominative singular in *ia* = Skt. *ī* (*φέρουσα* = Skt. *bhārantī*) and the neuter plural forms like *τρία*. Moreover, there is a very considerable number of roots showing an ablaut *ēi* : *əi* and *ēu* : *əu*; cf. Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung*, 117, and especially Wood, 'Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic,' *Germanic Studies of the University of Chicago*, II 27 ff.; Brugmann, I. F. VI 89 ff.¹

A scheme embodying these additional and less certain points is:

Weak.	Strong.
<i>u</i>	<i>eū</i> / <i>ou</i>
	<i>ēu</i> / <i>ōu</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>eūə</i> / <i>ouə</i>
<i>ue</i>	<i>ūē</i>
<i>eh</i>	<i>ūō</i>
	<i>ūā</i>

Thus far we have not dealt with roots containing a liquid or nasal, and so have avoided the subject of the 'nasalis sonans' and 'liquida sonans.' Thanks to the investigations of Brugmann and Osthoff, the representation of the (short) weak form of such roots in the several Indo-European languages is clear.² Whether or not in the parent speech these weak forms were actually syllabic

¹ It is true that most of the verbs in question are assumed to belong to one of the heavy ablaut series. But as far as the weak form is concerned, it makes no difference whether the high grade *ēi*, *ēu* is original or the result of lengthening. Nor is it possible to draw a sharp line between original and secondary length. It is only rarely that we have the means of applying the criterion of accent-quality suggested by Streitberg. The final consonants of the roots referred to are 'root increments' (e. g. **skhēi-d*, cf. Brugmann, l. c., p. 93), so there would be no objection from the side of Streitberg's theory (on the ground of position in a closed syllable) to regarding the length of the diphthongs as secondary. In the cases where an ablaut form *əi* or *əu* exists beside *ēi* and *ēi* (cf. Per Persson, l. c., 117), there is a certain probability in favor of the light series, just as where we find *e* beside *ē* (Streitberg, I. F. III 305). But individual transfers are of course always possible.

² For the elaboration of the theory of a second representative in all the I. E. languages, we still await the long-promised work of Osthoff (cf. M. U. V, Vorwort).

liquids and nasals—that is, physiologically parallel to *i* and *u*—is a question of minor importance, yet interesting enough to attract a considerable amount of discussion. Following Bechtel's rejection of the nasalis and liquida sonans, we have now J. Schmidt's long-promised attack on the 'Sonantiker'¹ with Brugmann's reply in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*. And the recent meeting of the Central Modern Language Association at Chicago has brought out two papers on the subject—one by Prof. Karsten, of Indiana University; the other by my colleague, Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg. To my mind the question is too fine a one to be decided on historical grounds. The forms in question can be explained equally well on the basis of I. E. **n*, **r*, or *ŋ*, *ɾ*. The advocates of the latter find their chief justification in the greater simplicity of their view and the parallelism with *i* and *u*. Their opponents retort that the sounds cannot be parallel physiologically, and that simplicity should be sacrificed to accuracy.

The experiments made by Dr. Schmidt-Wartenberg on the Rousselot apparatus are very interesting.² He is able to demonstrate that the pronunciation of a syllabic *l* is perfectly possible; for example, that *pʌl* may be pronounced in such a way that the articulation of the *l* begins immediately after the explosion of the *p*. For the nasals the case is somewhat different. A real syllabic *ŋ* may be pronounced by itself or after an homogeneous sound. But after a non-nasal mute the articulation of the nasal does not begin immediately, but a distinct vowel element inevitably intervenes. For example, the German *berittenen* is pronounced *beritʰnn̩*, not *beritɿnn̩*. Cf. also Seelman, Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 136, note. But it is also impossible to pronounce a consonant nasal preceded by an heterogeneous mute without an intervening vowel. That is, if we must write *tʰn* as the weak form of *ten*, so we must write I. E. *ǵʰnō* (Skt. *jñā*, Grk. *γνῶ*). It seems to me, then, that this intervening vowel is something which we can ignore, in the same way that we ignore dozens of other minute physiological points.

I abide, then, by the designation *ŋ*, *ɾ*, etc., as simpler on account of the parallelism with *i*, *u*, and as being a fair representation to the eye of what was at least the closest possible combination of vowel and consonant elements—so close that when the two came to be separated, the vowel sometimes appeared after as

¹ Kritik d. Sonantentheorie.

² Cf. now this volume of the *Journal*, p. 217 ff.

well as before the consonant (Grk. *ap, pa*),¹ and, moreover, was not always the same in the case of liquids as in the case of nasals (Lat. *-or*, but *-en*).

A practical difficulty in the use of the designation *'n, 'r*, etc., appears when we turn to the second or long weak grade. It is not likely that any one will follow Bechtel in assuming that the length belonged to the consonantal element alone and writing *'ñ, 'ṛ*, etc., and *'n, 'r* is also objectionable, though for other reasons than those which caused Bechtel to reject this representation. It would be better to write *ñ, ṛ*, but this only shows the closeness of the connection, so that, after all, *ñ, ṛ*, etc., remains the simplest and most conservative method of indicating the grade which is parallel to *ī, ū*. But we have now arrived at a question of altogether more practical importance—namely, the representation of this long weak grade in the several languages. Hübschmann and Brugmann have been berated more than once for setting up I. E. long syllabic liquids and nasals, and following this with a statement that their representation in the various languages was not clear, as if appearing to know more of the parent-speech than of the historical languages. But this paradox is in a sense true. For, however it may be designated, no one doubts that in the parent-speech there existed a long weak grade which is related to *ṛ, ṇ*, etc. (or *'r, 'n*, etc.), in the same way as *ū, ī* to *u, i*, and which appears in Sanskrit as *ūr, ṛ, ā* or *ām*. And yet, as to the appearance of this grade in the European languages, there has been great discrepancy of opinion, and, especially as regards Greek, there is still the widest divergence. One may of course speak simply of the European correspondents of Skt. *ūr, ṛ*, etc., but it is perfectly legitimate and in accordance with our use of hypothetical ground-forms as convenient symbols, to speak of I. E. *ṛ, ṇ*, etc., or, if one prefers, as *ṛ, ñ*, etc. And in this sense they will be used in the following brief discussion. Let us begin with the liquids *ṛ* and *ḷ*. They appear plainly in Sanskrit as *ṛ* and *ūr*, with the same quality of vowel which

¹ This is not to be compared with genuine metathesis, instances of which are only sporadic. In the antevocalic position the combination of vowel and consonant element was naturally not so close, and the designation *'no, 'ro* is perhaps preferable to *ṇ^o, ṛ^o*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, Grd. II, p. 920, note; Bechtel is of course right that it cannot be the same as *ṇ-no*), though the difference is only on paper. On account of the inherent consonantal element no glide sound parallel to the *ī* of *-iḥo-* is necessary. One might write simply *-no-*.

appears in the weak form before vowels (*ira*, *ura*) and which was also inherent in the *timbre* of the *r*, as shown by its subsequent development. In Iranian we find *ar* corresponding to Skt. *ir*, *ur* and *ir*, *ur* before vowels, while for Skt. *r* appears a sound which is written *ṛ* in the Avesta and appears as *ur* and *ir* in the modern dialects. For Lithuanian the combined result of the investigations of Fortunatov, Bezzenberger and de Saussure is that *ṛ*, *ḷ* appear as *ir*, *il* (Baranowski; Kurschat's *ir*, *il*) and sometimes as *ur*, *ul*, while *r*, *l* appear as *iṛ*, *il̃* (and *uṛ*, *ul̃*?). That is, we may accept Fortunatov's comparison with *ir*, *il*, and Bezzenberger's with *ur*, *ul*, but with de Saussure (so also Streitberg, Hirt and others) hold that the characteristic difference between the correspondents of Skt. *ur* and *r* is the accent¹ and not the quality of the vowel. Whether or not we find any certain examples of *uṛ*, *ul̃* = I. E. *r*, *l*, it is reasonably certain that the *u* has no exclusive connection with the long weak forms, but that we have a variation of *u* with *i* as in Sanskrit *ur*, *ir* as well as *ur*, *ir*, and as in Slavic *ir*, *ur* (cf. J. Schmidt, K. Z. 32, 384, note; Hirt, Der idg. Akzent, 140). This variation perhaps depended originally upon the character of the surrounding sounds.

As *ér*, *áu*, etc., represent original *ēr*, *āu* (Bezzenberger, modified by Streitberg), etc., in distinction from *eṛ*, *aũ* = *er*, *au*, so *ir*, *il* may represent an earlier *ir*, *il* in spite of Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 228.

In Slavic precisely the same representation must be assumed for both *r*, *l* and *ṛ*, *ḷ*. The Old Bulgarian orthography shows *ir*, *il*, sometimes *ur*, *ul*, before vowels, and *ri* and *rü* before consonants. In spite of the great confusion in the use of *i* and *ü*, the different treatment of preceding gutturals (Leskien, Handbuch, p. 27) and the forms of other Slavic languages show that an ur-Slavic *ur* is to be recognized beside *ir*. The difference

¹ The interchange of accent in the words of the same root, as *vilks* : *vilks̃*, noted by Bezzenberger, Bz. B. 17, 219, as an objection to this view, needs explanation. But it has no more force in overthrowing the general rule than the corresponding interchange in the case of original diphthongs cited, l. c., p. 224. It is clear that in both cases there are instances in which the interchange of accent cannot be connected with conditions of the parent-speech, but must be specifically Lithuanian (or Baltic or Balto-Slavic) and due to some processes analogical or phonological not yet understood. Cf. also de Saussure, Mém. Soc. ling. VIII, and add instances like *mārga-s* : *maṛgūju*, *bālta-s* : *baltūju*, *klausē*, 3d sg. pret. to *klausai* 'hear' : *klausē*, 3d sg. pret. to *klausiu* 'ask.'

between I. E. \bar{r} , \bar{l} and \bar{r} , \bar{l} shows itself only in the accent, of which there is of course no trace in Old Bulgarian. Cf. Hirt, *Der idg. Akzent*, p. 126.

For Germanic, Streitberg, I. F. VI 141, assumes, in contrast to the view hitherto held, that \bar{r} , \bar{l} appear as *ur*, *ul* without distinction from \bar{r} , \bar{l} . The comparison of the Lithuanian cannot be so absolutely binding ("der strikte Beweis") as long as some languages show a difference of vowel quality in the representatives of \bar{r} , \bar{l} and \bar{r} , \bar{l} respectively (Greek, Lat., Iranian). It is a question of historical evidence, and one must wait for Streitberg's fuller discussion to see what disposition he makes of the forms in *al*, *ar* hitherto regarded as representing \bar{r} , \bar{l} .

For the Greek the most widely current theory is that I. E. \bar{r} , \bar{l} appear as *op*, *ol* (from *ωp*, *ωl*) and *ρω*, *λω*. So Brugmann, Hübschmann, Osthoff and many others. J. Schmidt, K. Z. 32, 377 ff., denies the equation of *op*, *ol* with Skt. *īr*, *ūr*, but regards as the representatives of the latter not merely *ρω*, *λω*, but also *ρᾱ*, *λᾱ* and *ρη*, *λη* (cf. l. c., p. 390). Besides these he recognizes dissyllabic weak forms *apa*, *ala*, etc.; cf. *Pluralbildung*, 364. Kretschmer, K. Z. 31, 400, admits only *apa*, *ala*, etc., as the equivalents of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*, etc., and sees in *ρω*, *λω* and *ρᾱ*, *λᾱ*, etc., strong forms of the type treated above (I. E. *plē*, etc.). Bechtel too sees in *apa* a weak form of dissyllabic roots, but not the exact equivalent of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*. The Sanskrit equivalent of *apa* is *īri*, while the Greek equivalent of Skt. *īr* he leaves undecided. With Schmidt, Bechtel and Kretschmer (cf. also de Saussure, *Mémoire*, 267), I regard *ala* as the usual weak form of *ela*, but, like Bechtel, I do not believe that this *ala* and Skt. *īr*, *ūr* are precisely equivalent, descended from the same Indo-European form. We have, rather, to set up here, as elsewhere, contracted and uncontracted by-forms; cf. above on *i* : *ai*, *iz*. In Greek we ordinarily find the latter, in Sanskrit and other languages the former (cf. Grk. *ia* = Skt. *ī*). But, as Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, 305, shows, the uncontracted weak form is not wholly unknown in Sanskrit.¹ And it is not likely that the contracted form is wholly wanting in Greek. So the question still remains as to the actual Greek equivalent of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*, etc. We find *ρω*, *ρᾱ* and *ρη* (*νω*, *νᾱ* and *νη*) in formations where the weak grade of the root might be expected: not merely *στρωτός*, but *τλητός* (*τλᾱ*, cf. Dor. *τλᾱ*-

¹ Bechtel's *tulitd-s*, which, as the participle of the causative of *tuldyati*, would have I. E. *i*, not *z*, may be replaced by *gilitd-s*, the classical by-form of *gīrṇd-s*.

σομαι) and βλη-τός, and in all three cases J. Schmidt, as already remarked, sees the equivalent of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*. On the other hand, as Kretschmer points out, in all such cases we might have before us the strong form of the type *plē*, Skt. *prā*. As long as we have Skt. *prā-tā*, *drā-tā*, *jnā-tā*, in which *rā*, *nā* can only represent a strong form, and as even from the Greek standpoint, in cases like πῦα, πῶα, σχη (πτήσομαι, πῶμα, σχήσω, σχῆμα), the explanation as a weak form is out of the question, what guarantee have we that the same explanation does not hold for στρωτός, etc.? None. On account of Skt. *jnā-tā*, etc., every one sees the strong form in γνω-τός-s, γνώσκω, etc. Why is not στρωτός to be judged in the same way (cf. στῶμα : πῶμα), and βλώ-σκω like γνώ-σκω? We must grant Kretschmer that in none of these verbal forms is the equation of ρω, etc., with Skt. *īr*, *ūr* binding. On the other hand, whoever, like the writer, is convinced that Skt. *īr*, *ūr* represents an I. E. monosyllabic weak grade, will hold to it that, at least in some of the forms in question, we have this weak grade, and not the *plē*-type. But in which forms? According to J. Schmidt, some of those in ρῦ, ρη as well as ρω. One might accept this in the sense that the variation in the strong forms sometimes affected the weak grade, but I believe that only one of these sound-combinations is the actual phonetic equivalent of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*. And of the three, the probability is distinctly in favor of ρω, λω—partly on account of individual correspondences like βλωθ-ρός : Skt. *mūrdhan* 'head,' and partly because of the strong probability that ορ, ολ (from ωρ, ωλ) are also to be recognized as equivalents of Skt. *īr*, *ūr*. In spite of the criticisms of J. Schmidt, the direct connection of κόρσ-η with Skt. *ḥīrṣ-an* remains the most probable, and by the same explanation of the ολ in πολλός (on the λλ cf. Schulze, Quaest. Epic. 82) we avoid the supposition of vowel-assimilation, a phenomenon still insufficiently defined.

For Latin, too, the current view that I. E. *ṛ*, *l̥* appear as *ar*, *al* and *rā*, *lā* has not been overthrown. To be sure, the supposition that we have in Greek ρω, λω, but in Latin *rā*, *lā*, while enabling us to connect στρωτός with *strātus*, makes it necessary to separate τλητός (= *τλᾶτός) from Lat. *lātus*. But I do not feel, as Kretschmer does, that this is a serious objection. The appearance of ἔτλην (Dor. ἔτλᾶν), τλήσομαι, τέτληκα, etc., makes the explanation of τλητός as a strong form of the *plē*-type a rational one, whereas in Lat. *lātus* the same does not hold true. The scheme for roots containing a liquid would then be:

Weak.	Strong.
ॠ (Skt. ॠ, Grk. <i>ap</i> , <i>pa</i>)	<i>er/or</i>
ॡ (Skt. <i>iri</i> , Grk. <i>apa</i>)	<i>era/ora</i>
ॢ (Skt. <i>ir</i> , <i>ūr</i> , Grk. <i>op</i> , <i>pw</i>)	<i>ēr/ōr</i>
	<i>rā</i>
	<i>rō</i>
	<i>rē</i>

The development of I. E. \bar{r} , \bar{r} is precisely parallel to that of \bar{r} , \bar{r} in Balto-Slavic, Latin and, probably, in Germanic, but different in Aryan and in Greek. In Sanskrit it is something of a question whether \bar{a} or $\bar{ān}$ ($\bar{ām}$) is to be recognized as the normal representative. The facts are as follows: From roots ending in *m* we find only $\bar{ām}$ or, by assimilation to following dental, $\bar{ān}$ ($\bar{ām}$ in Whitney's transcription); as the participles *kām̐ta-s*, *krām̐ta-s*, *klām̐ta-s*, *ksām̐ta-s*, *cām̐ta-s*, *tām̐ta-s*, *dām̐ta-s*, *bhrām̐ta-s*, *vām̐ta-s*, *ṣām̐ta-s*, *ṣrām̐ta-s* (Whitney, Gram., §955 a), and the *ya*-presents (cf. *jīryati*)¹ *tāmyati*, *dāmyati*, *cāmyati*, *ṣrāmyati*, *bhrāmyati*, *klāmyati* (grammarians also *krāmyati*, *ksāmyati*). Similarly in the Avesta *grāntō* 'angry' to **gram* (Lat. *fremō*, Goth. *gramjan*, etc.). Giving up the idea that $\bar{gā}$ ($\bar{āgām}$, Grk. $\bar{\epsilon}\beta\eta\upsilon$) is the weak form of *gam* (see now Brugmann, Grd. II 893), there is, I think, no example of $\bar{a} = \bar{r}$ either in Sanskrit or Iranian. Bartholomae, Bz. B. 10, 278, cites, besides *aiwigāitīm* to *gam*, *kātō* to *kam*, but it is likely that we have an Aryan *kā* = I. E. *kā* (Lat. *cā-ru-s*). From roots in final *-n* we find forms with \bar{a} and $\bar{ān}$, in the participles usually \bar{a} , as *jāta-s*, Av. *zātō*, but also Skt. *dhvānta-s* to *dhvan* and Avestan *zan̐tō* to *zan* 'know' and *kan̐tō* to *kan* 'dig.' Among the desideratives we find Skt. *jī-ghāṇsa-*, *mī-māṇsa-*, *titāṇsa-* (Whitney, Gram., §1028 e; the last is from the grammarians, but confirmed by *tī-tāṇsu-s*) and Av. *vi-vōṅgha-* (to Skt. *van*), but also *vi-vā-sa-* to *van* and *si-ṣā-sa-* to *san*, and Av. *āhišāhyā*, a noun-formation to **hi-ṣā-ha* = Skt. *si-ṣā-sa-* (cf. Bartholomae, Bz. B. 10, 279). The only Sanskrit example of an inchoative with the long weak form is *vāñchāmi* to *van*. From the Avesta, Bartholomae, l. c., quotes *jāsa-*, but no absolute credence can be given to the \bar{a} ; cf. *jāsa-*, the regular equivalent of Skt. *gaccha-*. The \bar{a} appears also in the *nā*-present: Skt. *jā-nā-mi*, Av. *zā-nānti*, O.P. *a-dā-nā*. Then there are various individual words which may contain \bar{r} , as *ātā*, *āti-s*, *yātā* (Brugmann, Grd. I 208), etc., on the one hand, *kāñcana-s*

¹ Otherwise Bartholomae, Grd. d. iran. Phil. I, §149.

'golden' (Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 220) on the other. In view of the exclusive or, to be perfectly safe, the predominating appearance of *ām*, *ān* in derivatives of roots in final *-m*, and the very considerable number of instances of *-ān* from roots in final *-n*, the explanation of the *m* and *n* as due to the analogy of the strong forms (Brugmann, Bartholomae and others) certainly cannot satisfy us, whatever we may think of other attempts. The difficulty with the explanation of Kretschmer (K. Z. 31, 408) and Bechtel (Hauptprobleme, 221) lies in the supposition of a phonetic development of *ānt* to *āt* in the syllable preceding the accent, a process which, though already assumed on other grounds (Hübschmann, Indog. Vocalsystem, 86; Brugmann, Grd. I 168), is at least doubtful (Victor Henry, Revue critique, 1887, p. 100; Bartholomae, K. Z. 29, 556; Brugmann, Grd. II, 317).¹

¹ Wackernagel's Altindische Grammatik, which came to hand after this article had been sent off, contains a new and thorough discussion of this question. v. Bradke's article also, I. F. V 266 ff., has not been considered in the above. The material, as regards the verbal forms, is essentially the same as is presented above. To the inchoative *vāñchati* Wackernagel adds the late *āñchati* 'tear,' which Whitney calls artificial, and **lāñchati*, presupposed by *lāñchana*- 'sign'; but, on the other hand, does not mention the Avestan forms like *grāñtō*, which are important in such a question of chronology as he raises. The connection of *jārd-s* 'lover' with γαμβρός (so Leumann, v. Bradke, Wackernagel) and of *dāra-s* 'wife' with the root *dam* 'conquer' (v. Bradke, Wackernagel) is important as showing *ā* for *ṁ*. But the connection of *dārd-s* 'foe, slave' with the root *dam* (Benfey, Wackernagel) is more than doubtful, in view of *dāryu-s*. v. Bradke rejects the theory of Kretschmer and Bechtel as to the development of I. E. *ṁ*, but with them and de Saussure he maintains that the normal representative of I. E. *ṁ* is *ām* (*ān* before *t*), except before *r* (and possibly *m*), where it is *ā*. Wackernagel, on the other hand, like Brugmann and others, gives *ā* as the normal representative of both *ṁ* and *ṁ*, attributing the nasal in *dārd-s*, etc., to the analogical influence of the strong forms. For the first time, from the standpoint of this view, an explanation is attempted for the rule of classical Sanskrit that *ā* is the proper weak grade of roots in *-n(i)-*, but *ām*, *ān* of roots in *-m(i)-*. He thinks it merely a matter of chronology, most of the forms belonging to the *m*-roots having come into existence at a later period than the corresponding forms of the *n*-roots. "Die Tiefstufen der beiden Gruppen von Verben differieren also nur darum, weil zufällig die einen, die auf *-n(i)-*, ihren Tiefstufentypus schon v. gebildet hatten; die anderen, die auf *-m(i)-*, im ganzen erst in nachvedischer Zeit mit Ausnahme von *ṣram(i)-*, das gerade v. schon die Neuerung annahm." But I cannot understand how the non-occurrence of a form in the text of the Rigveda can be so conclusive of its non-existence at that period. Considering, for example, the ten participles in *-āñta-s* from roots in *-am-*, it is true that only one (*ṣrāñta-s*) occurs in the Rigveda. But two others (*krāñta-s*, *ṣāñta-s*) appear in the Atharva Veda, and

In Greek there is but little material. Brugmann holds that η appears as $\nu\bar{a}$ initial, but as \bar{a} between vowels. The $\nu\bar{a}$ is fairly certain and may not be confined to the initial position. Among the forms like $\theta\nu\bar{a}\tau\acute{o}s$, etc., may be some which are genuine weak forms, and not extensions of the $pl\bar{e}$ -type. For \bar{a} there is no evidence of any account. One would look for $\alpha\nu$ beside $\nu\bar{a}$ as op beside $\rho\omega$.

Up to this point we have discussed only variations within the so-called e -series. The simple scheme, as applicable to roots of a type pel , is:

again three more ($t\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$, $d\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$, $v\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$) in the Brāhmaṇas (Tāittirīya, Ṣatapatha and Āitareya), making six Vedic in the wider sense of the word, as against four non-Vedic. Moreover, of the five forms which are Vedic but not Rigvedic, three are from roots which occur only once each in the Rigveda, and one is from a root which occurs only twice, and yet these four (tam , dam , vam , cam) are roots which are well known in the other Indo-European languages and whose verbal system must have been developed in protoethnic times. And, again, the Avestan $gran\bar{t}ō$ proves the existence of the type $d\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$, etc., in the Indo-Iranian period. It looks then decidedly as if the non-appearance of such forms in the Rigveda were merely accidental. The fact remains, and can hardly be robbed of its significance, that all the participles of m -root, as far as they take the long weak form, exhibit $-ā\bar{m}$, never \bar{a} , and that the forms in question are found in all periods.

The explanation by analogy remains unsatisfactory, and I am firmly convinced of one thing at least, that those scholars from de Saussure on who assume that the nasal in $d\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$, etc., is the result of phonetic development are in the right—whatever may be the true reason for the coexistence of \bar{a} and $-ā\bar{m}$. On this last point I would suggest tentatively an explanation similar to that of Kretschmer and Bechtel, but not necessitating the assumption of a change of $\bar{a}nt$ to $\bar{a}t$. Midway between the Indo-European sound and the Aryan \bar{a} in $j\bar{a}t\bar{d}-s$ there must have existed at some period a sound in which the nasal element was still present, but greatly reduced. In the early Aryan period, for example, the sounds may have been \bar{a}^n and \bar{a}^m . The further development might depend on the character of the following consonant. Before certain consonants the nasal would be entirely lost (so perhaps before r , as in $d\bar{a}ra-s$, etc.), before others would be strengthened (e. g. before palatals, as in $v\bar{a}ñchat\bar{i}$ to van and $\bar{a}ñchat\bar{i}$ to am); and before still others the loss or retention would depend on the character of the nasal element, e. g. before t , the homogeneous n being lost, the m retained ($j\bar{a}t\bar{d}-s$: $d\bar{a}m\bar{t}d-s$). The change of \bar{a}^nt to $\bar{a}t$ would not necessitate the assumption that $\bar{a}nt$ changed to $\bar{a}t$. A few individual cases would remain to be explained by confusion, as $dhv\bar{a}nt\bar{d}-s$, Av. $-kaṇta-$ (= Skt. $kṛh\bar{a}t\bar{d}-s$), and some of the desideratives. (The one Avestan example, Gath. $v\bar{iv}v\bar{a}n\bar{g}hat\bar{u}$, agrees with Skt. $j\bar{i}gh\bar{a}ñsati$, etc., rather than with $v\bar{i}v\bar{a}sati$ and $s\bar{i}ḡ\bar{a}sati$.) I would not vouch for the exact formulation of the phonetic development given, but believe that the true explanation must be looked for along some such line.

0	e/o
∂	\bar{e}/\bar{o}

The existence of ∂ in the e -series has been demonstrated by Bartholomae, but I do not regard it as an intermediate stage of the weakening of e , but as belonging to the lengthened grade. For example, the a of Lat. *saxum*, assuming that the word belongs to *secāre*, is to be associated with the \bar{e} of O.B. *sēka*. Although the ablaut of the *pet*-type as given is exactly parallel to that of verbs in *eī*, *ey*, etc., yet the form which it actually assumes is quite out of line with that of *eī*, owing to the fact that the weak form is so generally replaced by the strong ($\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\sigma$, Skt. *paktá-s*, etc.). Moreover, in this type the quantitative ablaut $e : \bar{e}$ is especially frequent (Lat. *sedeo*, *sēdi*, Goth. *sitan*, *sētum*, etc.).

For the \bar{e} -series we may make use of the same scheme, since all the variations there given actually occur; but I follow the view of those who believe that only 0, ∂ , \bar{e} , and \bar{o} are to be recognized as properly belonging here. Where we find an e it is not an actual intermediate stage of weakening of \bar{e} , but is either ∂ affected by the quality of the strong grade or directly due to the interchange of $e : \bar{e}$ in the e -series. The two types have so many points in common that they exert a mutual influence; and in many individual instances it is impossible to decide whether we have to do with the e - or the \bar{e} -series.

The other two heavy series, the \bar{a} -series (0 : ∂ : \bar{a} : \bar{o}) and the \bar{o} -series (0 : ∂ : \bar{o}), present no difficulties. The \bar{o} -series looks like an isolated relic, based perhaps on an interchange of $o : \bar{o}$ in the e -series.

The \bar{a} -series cannot be disposed of so easily. There are many scholars who do not recognize it, who deny the existence of \bar{a} as a primitive vowel and the 'normal' grade of any series. These scholars see in all examples of \bar{a} a weakening of normal \bar{e} , \bar{o} or \bar{a} —that is, they assume that it represents the same I. E. sound as that which others, for the express purpose of distinguishing from the ordinary \bar{a} , designate as ∂ . All cases like $\bar{a}\gamma\omega$, Lat. *ago*, *scabo*, etc., they regard as 'aorist-presents' of roots belonging to the \bar{a} -series. The ablest exposition of this view since de Saussure is given by Bechtel, *Hauptprobleme*, 240 ff. One may well admit that the line is hard to draw, and that in various verbs of the European languages which have been ascribed to the \bar{a} -series there is equal or greater probability in favor of the \bar{a} -series; but,

aside from the fact that the number of aorist-presents is thus raised out of proportion to their actually attested existence in the *e*-series, we shall not be ready to give up completely the distinction of *a* and *ə* until some more satisfactory explanation of the Sanskrit distinction of *a* and *i* is furnished. Bechtel supposes that the *a* instead of *i* (for example in *ājāmi*) is due to the accent which, as he assumes, has come by transfer to fall on the root-syllable. But though a few instances like *kīpate* or *girāmi* (once) beside *girāmi*, *śumbhāmi* beside *śumbhāmi* are found, such a transfer is the regular thing only where the weak form of the root has come to show the same vowel as the great body of verbs of the type *φέρω*, and so fall under their influence, as *gācchāmi*, *dācchāmi*, *māthāmi*, with *a* for original *η*. Cf. Brugmann, Grd. I 916. But *ə*, or Bechtel's *a*, becomes *i*, and so would not invite a transfer of accent. To assume that it became identical with Aryan *a* because of the transfer of accent is to put the cart before the horse. Moreover, even after accepting such a law, one is left with all the cases of unaccented *a* = European *a*, as *bhaktā-s*, *ajā*, *matlā-s*, etc., to explain away by the analogy of accented forms or of verbs of the *e*-series. I prefer, then, to abide by the distinction of I. E. *a* and *ə*, and of an *a*- and an *ā*-series. In this or that case, of course, we may find a Skt. *a* beside *ā*, where the European forms favor the heavy series. Individual transfers must always be reckoned with.

Among the adherents of the *a*-series there is some difference of opinion regarding its exact correlation with the *e*-series. Hübschmann and Brugmann give *a* : *ā* as corresponding to *e* : *o*. Preferable is the view of Osthoff and Bartholomae that we have *a* : *o* just as *e* : *o*, and that the interchange of *a* : *ā* is to be compared to that of *e* : *ē* in the *e*-series. The scheme then would be

0	<i>a/o</i>	as	0.	<i>e/o</i>
	⋮			⋮
ə	<i>ā/ō</i>		ə	<i>ē/ō</i>

It is believed that the ablaut series as given include all the interchanges which have a claim to recognition as normal variation in the parent-speech. In the individual languages it often happens that in evidently related words we find an interchange of vowels which does not coincide with anything to be found in

these schemes. But this is accounted for by the confusion between the different series consequent upon the existence of a form common to two or more series. This point of contact may be original or, more usually, the result of a phonetic development peculiar to the language in question. A few well-known examples may be brought together here for illustration. The fact that *a* is the weak grade common to the three heavy series, and that this *a* is in the European languages identical with the *a* of the *a*-series, accounts for the existence of *ē* beside *ā*, as Lat. *ēgi* beside *ambāges*, O.N. *ōk*, Lat. *pēgi* beside *compāges*, Dor. *παγνῆμι*, Lith. *plėkiu* 'strike' beside Dor. *πλᾱγᾱ́*, Lat. *plāga*, etc. (cf. Brugmann, I. F. VI 96). In Greek the development of *l, n* to *al, a* has established a point of contact between the *el-, en*-types and the *a-* and *ā*-series; hence *μέμηλε* (Dor. *μεμᾰλότας*, Pindar) to *μέλω*, *δήξομαι* to *δάκνω* (δακ probably = *dnk* to *denk*, Skt. *dañç*). Mod. Germ. *gedeihan*, Goth. *peiha*, *paih*, *paihans*, shows a transfer from the *en*-type (cf. O.E. *geþungen*) to the *ex*-type due to the development of *enq*, Germ. *inh* to *ih*.¹ In Balto-Slavic the development of *z, n*, etc., to *ir, il*, etc., has occasioned the occasional appearance of *i* in the *pet*-type. So after Lett. *mina* 'remembrance' to *menū* there arose a Lett. *stība* 'staff, rod' to Lith. *stebiiŭ-s* 'be astonished' (orig. 'stand aghast' or something similar). Forms in *y* (*sỹki-s* 'stroke, time' to *i-sekti* 'cut into,' O.B. *sěka*) might be due to an extension of the same process; but as they regularly accompany strong forms in *e*, they may have started from verbs in which *e* represents I. E. *ē* from *ēi* (cf. Grk. *πίνω*, Skt. *pi-tā-s* beside *πῶνω*, Lat. *pō-tu-s*, Skt. *pā-na-s*, etc.). Cf. *plýsztu, plýszti* 'get torn' to *plėsziu* 'tear'; also *plėiszu* 'tear' (Leskien, Ablaut d. Wurzelsilben, 338). In Sanskrit the development of I. E. *n* to *a* has caused some confusion between the type I. E. *bhendh* and the type *pet* or *mad* (*a*-series). Beside *mādati* occurs *māndati*, and in the perfect *mamanda* beside *mamāda*. Vice versa in *mānthati* 'shakes' the nasal is probably a part of the root (Brugmann, Grd. II 994; Fick, Idg. Wtb.⁴, 283), but the perfect in the early period is *mamātha*. The development of *az* to *e* has produced a root *med* 'fatten' (cf. Germ. *Mast*), from which forms in *mid*, as *mimide*, *amidat*, etc., are cited by the grammarians. The retention of the strong ablaut grade in the

¹ For a large collection of Germanic examples see now Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, under the caption 'Reihenwechsel' (§105).

perfect participle, which is normal in the I. E. *pet*-type (cf. above), has been extended to roots in which the vowel is preceded by a sound capable of assuming vocalic function. So, after the analogy of *patilá-s*, etc., were formed *vyathilá-s* to *vyath* (contrast *viddhá-s* to *vyadh*), *vasitá-s* to *vas* 'clothe' (contrast *uṣitá-s* to *vas* 'dwell'), *ṣvasitá-s* to *ṣvas* beside *ṣuṣantam*, etc., *vrajilá-s* to *vraj* (contrast *ṣrthilá-s* to *ṣrath*), and others.

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II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS.

The long discussion of this subject has shown that the work, in form and in diction, is based on the works of Cicero, that there are in it many resemblances to the diction of Pliny the Younger, Quintilian and Tacitus; and that, owing to differences in style, if written by Tacitus, it must have been during or immediately after the reign of Titus.

The extant MSS of the *Dialogus*, eleven in number, are all of the fifteenth century, and are copies of a MS of unknown date which was brought from Germany to Italy about the middle of that century. The majority of them contain, besides the *Dialogus*, the *Germania* of Tacitus, and all but one have a Suetonius fragment. So varied is the arrangement of the three works in the MSS that there is not sufficient ground for a valid inference as to the order in which they were written in the *Apographon*, and the possibility of a transfer in the MSS of the name of Tacitus from the *Germania* to the *Dialogus*. However, considering simply the number of MSS in which the *Dialogus* immediately precedes or follows the *Germania*, the probabilities are against such a supposition. All that can be learned from the MSS is that some time previous to the fifteenth century, the *Germania* and the Suetonius fragment were detached from the larger works by the same authors, and were written, along with the *Dialogus*, in a MS from which the extant MSS have been derived. The number of these in no way affects the discussion of the subject, for the continued copying of a MS statement, whether it be right or wrong, neither proves nor disproves the original statement. In the present instance all depends upon the MS from which the extant MSS were copied.

The *Apographon* evidently ascribed the work to Tacitus. This, however, is not a proof of authorship, but only gives the subject of a thesis which remains to be proved. More works than one in reference to whose authorship the MSS evidence is as definite as it is in the case of the *Dialogus*, are now held by critics not to belong to the authors to whom they are assigned by the MSS. Experimenters in both prose and poetry freely attached their

essays to the writings of greater men, while the entitlement of the work of Cornificius by the scribes shows the possibility of serious errors of judgment in reference to authorship. That Roman critics were not always able to decide this question is shown by the varying statements about the number of the works of Plautus. Gellius 3, 3, 11, 'feruntur sub Plauti nomine comoediae circiter centum atque triginta; sed homo eruditissimus, L. Aelius, quinque et viginti eius esse solas existimavit.' Servius Praef. in Aen., 'Plautum alii dicunt unam et viginti fabulas scripsisse, alii quadraginta, alii centum.' In the case of these works and all others of a similar character, the validity of the MSS evidence to authorship has been tested by evidence based on the stylistic features of the work contained. This method cannot be reversed in the case of the *Dialogus* and the MSS testimony be considered as a proof of authorship. The MSS only give us for investigation the subject, "Tacitus wrote the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*." The date when the recorded dialogue took place has been considered in a preceding article, and the present discussion will be confined to an examination of two lines of evidence, that furnished by statements which have a bearing on the date of publication, and that furnished by the language and style of the *Dialogus*.

I.—DATE OF PUBLICATION.

1. *Condition of Oratory under Domitian*.—The work is addressed to Fabius Justus, and is an answer to his frequent inquiries about the decline of Roman oratory, and the practical supplanting of the orator by the 'causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur.' No date can be absolutely fixed when such a condition of affairs existed at Rome. But the frequent mention of the 'causidici' by Martial, the wail of Tacitus in the *Agricola* (c. 2) over the loss of free oratory under Domitian, and the expressions of joy in the *Agr.* (c. 3) and the *Hist.* (I 1) because of its re-establishment under Nerva and Trajan; the publication during Domitian's reign of the great educational work of Quintilian with its allusions, e. g. 1, 12, 16; 12, 1, 25, to the ideal orator as compared with the pleader, 'quem denique causidicum vulgo vocant'; the testimony of Pliny the Younger, e. g. *Ep.* 3, 18, 5; 8, 12, 1 to the condition of literature at that time, show that all the conditions mentioned in the *Dialogus* were realized while Domitian was emperor. The fact that Quintilian was optimistic, taken in connection with the fact that he praised Domitian almost

without stint (see Peterson, Quint. Intr. xi), merely shows that there was ample room, even in that period of oratorical silence, for rhetorical work by any writer who would not antagonize imperial despotism.

2. *Fabius Justus*.—Fabius Justus, to whom the work is addressed, was probably the friend of Pliny the Younger, and Consul Suffectus, in 102 A. D. If as fortunate as Pliny and Tacitus in official promotion, he would be about the same age as they, so that the date of his birth may be placed about 60 A. D. However, the establishment of the exact date of his birth would be of no service, for we do not know whether the *Dialogus* was addressed to him as a student, answering some questions which had arisen while he was still at school, or whether it is a complimentary work addressed to him at a later period in life. If for the first purpose, it may be compared to some of the works of Seneca addressed to Lucilius. (See N. Q. 3, 1, 1.) But if the work was written by Tacitus in 82 (?) A. D., he would not be recommended to Fabius by the prestige of his age as was the case with Seneca addressing Lucilius. More probability attaches to the second alternative. The *Dialogus* in form is imitative, everywhere showing the results of a careful study of the works of Cicero. The motive given for writing the *Dialogus* is the same as that for writing the *Laelius*. The words of Cicero (*Laelius* 1, 4), 'cum enim saepe mecum ageres,' are slightly varied at the beginning of the *Dialogus*, 'saepe ex me requiris.' The placing of a veil, perfectly transparent in the *Laelius*, over the personality of the author by representing the work as the recorded recollection of the conversation of men fitted for the task of discussion, is the same in both. The division of the remarks of Messalla into three parts is evidently fashioned after the presentation of the remarks of *Laelius* by Cicero. Both works contain a reference to the student days of the writers. So similar are the motives for authorship, as well as the form of presentation, that it is not improbable that the opening words of the *Dialogus* contained for Fabius a subtle allusion to the fact that he and the writer were a pair of friends to be compared to Atticus and Cicero.

The words describing Aper and Secundus, and the writer's own student days, are likewise capable of a double interpretation. The characterization of the two men is modelled after the characteri-

zation of Crassus and Antonius in Cic. de Orat. 2, 1, 4. Secundus is mentioned three times by Quintilian (10, 1, 120; 10, 3, 12; 12, 10, 11), but we know of Aper only from the Dialogus, where he is extolled very probably only to make the pair correspond to Crassus and Antonius. The characterization was for the benefit of Fabius, whose ignorance of the men may be due to the fact that he was too young at the time of the dialogue to be conversant with the history of the day, or it may mean that the work was written at such a distance from the time of the dialogue that the recollection of them may have fallen from his mind. Against the first may be urged the fact that Fabius was nearly of the same age as Tacitus. The second interpretation is sustained by the fact that the repeated inquiries of Fabius indicate a considerable degree of intimacy with the writer, the main facts of whose life when a student would be better known to a student-friend inquirer than to an inquirer of more mature years from whose mind it might be supposed, at least for the purposes of literary reproduction, that they had faded. This view is strengthened by the fact that Cicero gives in the Laelius, for the benefit of Atticus, similar details of his own student days.

3. *The Death of the Interlocutors.*—Following Cicero as a model, the work was probably not written till after the death of the men who are represented as taking part in the dialogue. Of the death of Aper, and of Messalla, whose name does not appear in Pliny's correspondence, nothing whatever is known, and within reasonable limits after the time of the dialogue, one assumed date is as good as another. The words of Quintilian (10, 1, 120), 'Iulio Secundo, si longior contigisset aetas,' show that he was dead when Quintilian wrote, 93 A. D., but how long he had been dead at that time cannot be determined.

Dio Cassius, LXVII 12 Μάτερνον δὲ σοφιστὴν ὅτι κατὰ τυράννων εἰπέ τι ἀσκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, is adduced as testimony that Maternus was put to death by Domitian in 91 A. D. However, the word σοφιστής used by Dio has been taken as evidence that the Maternus put to death by Domitian could not have been the Maternus of the Dialogus who had won renown as a poet. Whatever may have been the real value of the literary work of Maternus, Roman writers are profoundly silent as to his fate. The absence from the writings of the time of Domitian of any mention of his name may indicate either that the Dialogus gives an exaggerated estimate of his

power, or that his repeated assaults had rendered him obnoxious to Domitian and his favorites, and that Quintilian, enjoying the favors of the imperialists, passed him by for this reason. Where Dio obtained his information we cannot tell. Certainly not directly, just as he put it, from any Roman writer. The word 'sophistes' up to the time of Tacitus is rarely if ever applied to a Roman. It is used by Juvenal (7, 167) applied to declaimers, and several times by Gellius, referring to the old Greek sophists, and twice (17, 5, 3; 21, 1) to Greeks of his own day. In the Ps. Seneca ad Paulum, Ep. II, the supposed Paul calls Seneca 'censor, sophista, magister tanti principis,' a free use of the word corresponding to the use of it in later times among the Greeks, when the word returned into honor and was applied to rhetoricians and prose writers, and by Lucian to Christ (de Morte Pere. 13. III 337), to Socrates (Dial. Mort. XXI 2. I 421), and to Aristotle (Dial. Mort. XII 3. I 384). The word as used by Dio must be interpreted as it is used by the writers of the same age, and little can be staked on an account by a Greek who applies to a Roman a term freely used by the Greeks and by them applied to men to whom the term sophist cannot now be applied. At the distance of 130 years from the event described, Dio could easily be mistaken, from a Roman standpoint, in the application of σοφιστής to a man who was both an advocate and a poet who recited his own verses.

While the negative argument based on the word σοφιστής fails to show that it was not the Maternus of the Dialogus who was put to death by Domitian, it must be admitted that the attitude of Maternus toward the government as stated by Dio corresponds to the attitude of the Dialogus Maternus to those in power. The cause of the dialogue was a gathering of the friends of Maternus to talk about a recitation of his 'cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur, tamquam in eo tragoediae argumento sui oblitus tantum Catonem cogitasset.' Secundus advocates a remodelling, that the work might be 'non quidem meliorem, sed tamen securiorem.' But Maternus is firm: 'leges quid Maternus sibi debuerit et agnosces quae audisti. quod si qua omisit Cato, sequenti recitatione Thyestes dicet.' Settled hostility to tyranny is expressed by Maternus, and he satisfies at least that portion of the statement of Dio in which are given the reasons for his death. We must either accept the identity of the two, or hold, on purely hypothetical grounds, to the contemporaneous existence of two men bearing the same name and possessing the same psychological attitude toward tyranny,

and for this there is no valid reason presented in the use of the word σοφιστής by Dio.

4. *Men Adversely Criticised.*—Prudential reasons on the part of the writer may be considered strong enough to have prevented the publication of the *Dialogus* during the life of the men who are adversely criticised in it. Marcellus committed suicide in 79 A. D. Quintilian, e. g. 5, 13, 48; 10, 1, 119; 12, 10, 11, refers to Vibius Crispus as already dead, but the date of his death cannot be determined. This, however, is not of the least importance if the hypothesis advanced by Gudeman (*Dial. Proleg. xxx*) can be sustained that Crispus was in disfavor during the reign of Titus and that the *Dialogus* was written at that time. It is held that he repeatedly got into trouble under Vespasian, is not mentioned under Titus, who, according to Suet. Titus 8, persecuted the informers, and was again in high favor under Domitian.

The evidence for his trouble under Vespasian is given by Tac. Hist. 4, 41. 43. In c. 40 he says, 'quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de absentia patris fratrisque et iuventa sua pauca et modica disseruit.' Then followed the plea of Messalla for Regulus, and the attack of Helvidius on Marcellus. The conclusion of the whole affair is concisely summed up by Tacitus, c. 44, 5 'patres coeptatam libertatem, postquam obviam itum, omisere.' Instead of being any real trouble for Crispus, it was for him a triumph as it was for Marcellus. (See Gudeman, ad *Dial.* 5, 30.) This was a victory of the imperial favorites over the senate, and in the case of Marcellus and Crispus there had been no break with the emperor up to the time when the dialogue took place. This is shown by the statement made concerning them in the *Dialogus*, c. 8, 18, 'per multos iam annos potentissimi sunt civitatis ac, donec libuit, principes fori, nunc principes in Caesaris amicitia agunt feruntque cuncta atque ab ipso principe cum quadam reverentia diliguntur.' At the very beginning of the reign of Domitian, Crispus was high in power. Suet. Dom. 3, 'inter initia principatus . . . ut cuidam interroganti, essetne quis intus cum Caesare non absurde responsum sit a Vibio Crispo *ne muscam quidem*.' Triumphant at the first appearance of Domitian in the senate, high in honor at the beginning of his reign, under Titus, owing to his own friendship and that of Titus for Domitian, his position would not be materially changed. That Titus held Domitian in high honor is shown by Suet. Titus 9, 'Fratrem . . . neque occidere neque seponere ac ne

in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit, sed, ut a primo imperii die, consortem successoremque testari perseveravit.' The friend of Vespasian and of Domitian, the possessor of vast wealth which he calmly enjoyed during their reigns, it is not at all improbable that he may have been a friend of Titus also, who, according to Suet. Tit. 7, 'amicos elegit, quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei publicae necessariis adquieverunt praecipueque sunt usi.' Titus, it is true, did punish informers, but long before this, Crispus had risen to the rank of a gentleman, and was beyond the reach of the vigor of Domitian who said, Suet. Dom. 9, 'princeps qui delatores non castigat, irritat.' The statements of Suetonius about Crispus, and the distinction clearly indicated between common informers and the friends of the emperor, are sufficient to show the untenability of the hypothesis of the temporary weakening of the power of Crispus under Titus.

5. *Iuvenis Admodum*.—The words 'iuvenis admodum' used by the writer to designate his age at the time of the dialogue have a value in indicating something about the length of time which elapsed between the dialogue and the publication of the *Dialogus*. They are of little value in fixing the age of a person, as they are applied to ages from 17 to 24, and are no more definite than are the words 'young man.' They may be applied to a youth by any writer and at any time without reference to the number of years intervening between the time of the writing and the period in the life of the man described. But when a writer is speaking of himself the case is different, especially when he wishes to indicate the time between two events. The design of the writer was to indicate to Fabius something as to the length of time since the conversation took place. But when a man is in a certain period of life, a reference to the same period, modified though it be as in the present instance, contains but little information. If the writer of the *Dialogus* was a 'iuvenis,' his reference to himself was not definite enough to suit so recent an event, and at the same time it would be an entirely unnecessary statement to call the attention of a 'iuvenis' to the fact that the writer was a 'iuvenis' at a time when there could not be the possibility of a doubt as to the fact in the mind of the person addressed. The words are certainly superfluous unless the writer was looking backward from a later period in life.

6. *Discussion of the Decline of Oratory.*—All the statements so far considered seem to indicate for the publication a date later than the reign of Titus. It is, however, argued by Gudeman that the *Dialogus*, if written after the reign of Titus, would involve a literary anachronism, the theme with which it deals being no longer a theme for discussion in the time of Nerva and Trajan. (*Dial. Proleg.* xxxii.) But this statement is involved in the discussion, and cannot be used to support any other part. It stands or falls with the establishment, by other lines of argument, of the date of publication. If the *Dialogus* was written under Nerva, the theme was discussed at that time. If written under Titus, we do not have the evidence that it was discussed under Nerva. The establishment of the date of publication is necessary before limits can be set to the time when the theme was discussed. The limitation placed on the date of authorship is based on the fact that the decline of oratory had been discussed by the Senecas and others, but under Domitian these voices are hushed. The work of Quintilian bears testimony to the fact. A hopeful optimistic feeling had taken possession of him, and the age seemed again favorable to the healthy growth and development of a truer eloquence, the decline of which no longer disturbed the reflections of Martial, Pliny and Tacitus.

When the optimism of Quintilian is mentioned it must be borne in mind that it is the optimism of a rhetorician thriving under a government which Tacitus afterward branded as the most infamous. Martial, like Quintilian, stood in too close touch with despotism to be a competent witness in reference to that which does not flourish under a despotism. The hush in the reign of Domitian was the hush of death, and Pliny and Tacitus rejoiced in the establishment of conditions entirely at variance with those under which Quintilian was optimistic. But whatever may have been the political influences affecting oratory, the discussion of its decline could have been brought about in two ways,—an answer so complete that it would be accepted by all; a change so radical that the decline would no longer exist. In the last chapter of the *Dialogus*, Messalla admits that the discussion was in some respects incomplete. This admission of the chief speaker, taken in connection with the fact that there is not an adequate discussion of the political influences affecting oratory, shows that there was still room for discussion after the publication of the *Dialogus*. Did times so change that there was no need for such a discussion? Messalla

(c. 28) gives a summary of the causes of the decline, and a part, if not all of them, were permanent. Quintilian found it necessary to discuss the effects of misdirected education. Pliny Ep. 1, 5, 12 says, 'est enim mihi cum Cicerone aemulatio, nec sum contentus eloquentia saeculi nostri.' (Cf. Ep. 1, 16, 3; 3, 20, 4; 6, 21, 1.) The words of both Quintilian and Pliny indicate that the decline had not ended, and Tacitus expressly states that oratory under Domitian was dead. The freedom of expression allowed during the reigns of Nerva and Trajan must have been favorable to oratory, but men continued to be more and more dissatisfied with the productions of their own times, and by the time of Fronto had taken the most ancient of the ancients as their models. The incompleteness of the *Dialogus* discussion, the continuance of the adverse influences, the steady drift of literary sentiment toward the past, left room for discussion at any time a curious-minded man might turn his attention to the condition of oratory as compared with that of rhetorical practice. At no time would the question of Fabius have been more timely than during the latter part of the reign of Domitian when Quintilian was optimistic and Tacitus was silent.

7. *Reproduction from Memory.*—An argument for the publication of the *Dialogus* within six or seven years after the dialogue is based upon the statement of the author in reference to his intention of reproducing from memory a discussion that he had heard. If the writer was simply a recorder, discussion is at an end, for the entire question of authorship is solved. The *Dialogus* does not belong to the writer, but to the speakers. If Fabius was expecting a verbatim report of an earlier conversation, he would probably lose faith in the writer if the report was not written till twenty years after the conversation. But if the writer was indeed the author of the work, he is to be judged, not as a mere reporter, but by his artistic attitude to an ideal conversation, and in this judgment the question of the number of years between the hearing and the writing has no place whatever. It is a question of the use of literary forms of presentation, and not of the persistence of mental powers. In his use of a literary form, we must admit that the writer of the *Dialogus* could allow as much time between the dialogue and date of publication as Cicero himself had done. While Cicero did not actualize his speakers, and could not subordinate himself to the forms of highest literary art, still he gave to

later imitators of his method, a model in which conversation was presented with an utter disregard of the length of time that it might be retained in memory. The *Laelius* is Cicero's account of a supposed conversation heard by Scaevola in 129 B. C., repeated by him in the hearing of Cicero in 88, and published by the latter in 44. In other words he represents that the recorded conversation had been retained for 85 years in the memories of two men.

Plato, whose artistic skill none will deny, has in the *Symposium* three periods, but shorter than those of Cicero in the *Laelius*,—416 B. C., 400, and the date of publication between 384 and 372. See Hug, *Symposium Einleitung* 7. 9. 10.

To a Roman acquainted with the *Symposium* or the *Laelius*, the placing of the conversation twenty years or even more in the past would not seem inartistic, and would have been accorded without question to the writer of the *Dialogus*.

8. *Age of Pliny and of Tacitus*.—The only statement referring to the age of the writer is the one containing the words 'iuvenis admodum,' which might have been applied to any young man at the time of the dialogue. The date of the birth of Tacitus cannot be determined. All the data by which it is sought to do this are so flexible that at the critics' pleasure it may be variously stated. But the exact determination of his age at the time of the dialogue, taken by itself, would not affect in any way the argument either for or against authorship by him, if it can be shown that the age of some other author, whose claims for authorship have been advanced, can be equally well described by the words 'iuvenis admodum.'

Pliny the Younger was a precocious youth. At the age of fourteen (Ep. 7, 4, 2) he wrote a Greek tragedy; in 79 A. D. he witnessed the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius (Ep. 6, 20, 5, 'agebam enim duodevicensimum annum'), a detailed account of which he wrote some twenty years later at the request of Tacitus. A year later (Ep. 5, 8, 8) he began to plead in the forum, and when still young won renown as an advocate (Ep. 1, 18, 3, 'eram acturus adulescentulus adhuc, eram in quadruplici iudicio, eram contra potentissimos civitatis atque amicos Caesaris . . . atque adeo illa actio mihi aures hominum, illa ianuam famae patefecit'). If the dialogue took place in 77 A. D., Pliny might have been present and listened intelligently to the discussion. He might have written the *Dialogus* under Titus or during the first years of the reign of Domitian, admitting the possibility of publication at that time.

Pliny compares himself and Tacitus, Ep. 7, 20, 3, 'Erit rarum et insigne duos homines aetate dignitate propemodum aequales . . . alterum alterius studia fovisse. Equidem adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreris, te sequi, tibi longo sed proximus intervallo et esse et haberi concupiscebam.' The first words of the comparison indicate but a slight difference in the ages of the two men. Special emphasis, however, has been laid on the words *longo sed proximus intervallo*. When Pliny sat down to write the description of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius he gave a literary shudder, and quoted Vergil, 'Quamquam animus meminisse horret, incipiam.' In the same way, in comparing himself with Tacitus he goes back to Vergil (Aen. 5, 320) for the phrase which he applied to himself. The whole account of Vergil is exaggerated, and to take Pliny's complimentary quotation of Vergil's words as the statement of the exact, or even approximate mathematical relation of their respective ages is to step outside of the bounds of valid literary interpretation.

There still remains the one statement, 'adulescentulus, cum iam tu fama gloriaque floreris,' as an indication of the difference in their ages. Tacitus was married in 78 A. D., to the daughter of Agricola, an indication that he was already a man of some note. At this time Pliny seems to have been with his uncle, and so continued till the following year when he began active public life. The position of Tacitus as son-in-law of the powerful governor of Britain seems to form an adequate basis for the words of Pliny. So far as these data are concerned the difference in the ages of the two is left undetermined. If we assume that Tacitus was x years older than Pliny, we can assume that Pliny wrote the work x years after the date assumed for Tacitean authorship. The conditions of the problem enable us to shift the date for Plinian authorship as often and just as far as the difference between the ages of the two men is shifted. The possibility of this may be denied since it might throw the date of publication into the reign of Domitian. The reference to Vibius Crispus in the *Dialogus* may stand in the way of this, but if our view of the relation of Titus to the leading informers is correct, authorship was as safe for Pliny during the first years of Domitian's reign as it was for Tacitus during the reign of Titus. But Pliny had opposed the friends of the emperor after 81 A. D., the year in which he began pleading, and might in a literary work put into the mouth of another man an attack on others of the same class.

II.—LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF THE DIALOGUS.

The language of the *Dialogus* is that of the rhetorical schools of the day, and as such bears a close resemblance to the language of Cicero. Vogel says, 'Elocutio est omnino Quintilianae Plinianaeque quam Tacitinae longe similior.' So striking are some of the resemblances of the vocabulary to that of Pliny and Quintilian that claims have been put forth for both as authors of the work. These arguments are based on those features of language and style which are common to the *Dialogus* and the works of the others. All the arguments are fortified by a large number of parallel references. But there were not two authors, and arguments based solely on these resemblances must be set aside. The correctness of the rejection is shown by the differences between the language of the *Dialogus* and that of the other works. But if the arguments based on parallel passages in the *Dialogus* and in Pliny or Quintilian do not prove identity of authorship, and dissimilar phenomena utterly overthrow arguments for it, the same conclusion must follow if we obtain similar results in comparison with the works of a third, a fourth, or any number of authors. The claims for Tacitus must as surely be rejected as those for Pliny and Quintilian, unless it can be shown that the correspondences and differences between the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus *must* receive an interpretation which cannot be reasonably applied to the results obtained by other comparisons. Judging only by parallel passages, the arguments for Pliny, Quintilian and Tacitus seem strong, but they indicate nothing more than that any of the three *might* have written the work. Dissimilarities in diction which are accepted as conclusive against the claims for Pliny and Quintilian, must be accepted as conclusive against Tacitus, except under the condition mentioned above.

Given a mass of resemblances and differences between the *Dialogus* and the works of Pliny, Quintilian and Tacitus, the interpretation in the case of Tacitus is supposed to be modified by the element of time. Given a period of fifteen years between the date of publication of the *Dialogus* and that of the other works of Tacitus, this will modify the interpretation of the material examined. But the writer of the *Dialogus* has such elements in his work in common with the works of Tacitus or Pliny that after fifteen years of training he may develop into either a Pliny or a Tacitus. The style of both of these differs widely from the style

of the writer of the *Dialogus*, and when time is demanded for the development of the style of Tacitus, it must be borne in mind that nearly as many years must be allowed Pliny for a similar development between the date of publication of the *Dialogus* and that of his *Epistles*.

1. *Theory of Genetic Development.*—In the case of Pliny we do not have distinct masses of literary work which enable us to test the movement of his style during his career. In the case of Tacitus we do, and certain changes in his style are pointed out. Given certain lines of development, can they be traced backward till they point to an undoubted origin in the *Dialogus*? The affirmative answer to this is found in the theory of genetic development propounded by Wölfflin. There seem to be certain well-marked tendencies in different directions. Some phenomena of the *Dialogus* become more and more frequent in the historical works of Tacitus. Others characteristic of the *Dialogus* suffer atrophy and are lost.

Connected with this theory, or rather antecedent to it, is the hypothesis of the psychological changes in Tacitus caused by the horrors witnessed under Domitian. Let us consider the hypothesis. Tacitus left Rome in 89 A. D. and did not return till after the death of Agricola. Accepting as the record of an eye-witness the account given in *Agr.*, c. 45, of the last years of Domitian, the experience of Tacitus must have been confined to three years. He was then a man thirty-five or forty years old. His education had long been finished. The outlines of his form of expression must by this time have been fixed. Then came three years of the Domitian horror, the clouds cleared away and peace and freedom of speech returned under Nerva and were continued under Trajan. The last years of Domitian could not undo the educational equipment which he had in 93 A. D. New elements in his style must come to it through the psychic forces affected by the horrors which he had seen. Granting that there was aroused in him a new attitude to tyranny, it is assumption to say that the change was so pervasive, so persistent, that it affected his attitude toward any other social or political forces than the ones which furnished the occasion for the change in his reflective attitude. Tacitus himself indicates this when he states at the beginning of the *Agr.* and of the *Hist.* his appreciation of the free conditions under which he wrote.

As an hypothesis to account for changes in style, it may be used in the case of Pliny as well as in the case of Tacitus. It has to do only with the emotional element in Tacitus, while the theory of genetic development has to do with verbal changes into which the emotional element has not been shown to enter, for a man actuated by intense hatred of tyranny would not be likely to pause and deliberate on the spelling of a word or the use of one compound for another.

Among the best examples adduced as proof of this development are *a*) The displacement, in the later works of Tacitus, of *eligere* by *deligere*, *offensa* by *offensio*, *cupiditas* by *cupido*, *deinde* by *dein*. *b*) The recurrence of some *Dialogus* words only in the smaller works of Tacitus, and with this can be placed some apparent reversions in the *Annals* to the form of statement in the *Dialogus*. *c*) The continuously decreasing number of synonymous collocations.

a. These examples are conclusive against any argument based on them that Tacitus did *not* write the *Dialogus*. They are of no value in showing that he did write it. They are the prevailing forms used by the writers of the age. For Pliny and Quintilian, the Tacitean forms are unusual, while the *Dialogus* forms are the regular ones, and for this reason they form a stronger argument for them than they do for Tacitus, for whom they can be used only on the pre-acceptance of the validity of the MSS title. It must be admitted that these lines of development run through all the works of Tacitus, but when they are traced backward they converge toward not only the *Dialogus* but other works as well. They show the possibility of connecting the *Dialogus* with the other works of Tacitus, but they show no more probability of it than they do of a connection with the works of Pliny or of Quintilian.

b. The two phenomena stated in this division are only two indications of one fact—the overlapping of the vocabulary of the *Dialogus* by the vocabulary of the works of Tacitus. Every one of these contains expressions found only in it and the *Dialogus*. While there can be no exact classification owing to some differences in textual readings, we have divided the words in the *Tac. Lex.* (A—reliquus) into thirty-one classes to find out the number of words used in each work assigned to Tacitus, and the number which occur in two or more of them. Including a few participial nouns in -um, e. g. *edictum*, *delictum*, and *factum*, and a few

participial adjectives, e. g. *constans*, *praestans*, *expeditus* and *expertus*, there were in all 4669. The following statement gives a portion of the results :

In A. 3890, H. 3200, Agr. 1395, Germ. 1282, Dial. 1405.
 Only in " 893, " 352, " 50, " 87, " 157.
 " " A. and D. 89, A. and Agr. 63, A. and Germ. 92.

There are more words found only in the *Annals* and *Dialogus* than are found only in the *Annals*, the *Germania* and the *Agricola*. This seems to indicate a reversion to the vocabulary of the *Dialogus*. But excluding the *Annals*, there are found in the other works of Tacitus all but 113 words of the *Agr.*, 139 of the *Germ.*, and 246 of the *Dial.* The larger number of words found only in the *A.* and *Dial.* is simply the result of the fact that when Tacitus wrote the *Annals*, 246 words of the *Dial.* and 252 of the *Agr.* and *Germ.* had not been used in any other of his works. The per cent. of the hitherto unrepeatd vocabulary used in the *Annals* is less for the *Dial.* than for either of the other works.

That this phenomenon is merely the result of accidental overlapping can be shown in another way. Selecting 1405 words, (*A—reliquus*) from a continuous section at the beginning of the *Panegyricus* of Pliny, and arranging these and the words of Tacitus, excluding those found only in the *Dialogus*, the results in the 31 classes very closely correspond. With this substitution of the *Panegyric* vocabulary for that of the *Dialogus*, the number for each work was as follows :

Only in A. 887, H. 335, Agr. 49, Germ. 92, Pan. 118.
 " " A. and P. 95.

These correspond very closely with the numbers given above, and the correspondence is about as close throughout the thirty-one classes, the numbers given being fair representatives of them all. Inasmuch as the vocabulary of the *Panegyricus* when compared with that of Tacitus, exhibits throughout the same results as are obtained by comparing the vocabulary of the *Dialogus* under exactly the same conditions, the reversion theory is shown not to have a basis of fact. At the same time, as there are about the same number of words in the *Panegyric* section that are found in one or both of the smaller works of Tacitus, but in neither of the larger ones, the recurrence of some of the words of the *Dialogus* in only the smaller works of Tacitus is shown to have no bearing on

the question of the authorship of the *Dialogus*. While complete comparisons cannot be made till the *Lexicon* is finished, still the masses compared are so large that there can be no doubt as to the character of the final results. They will surely show that the phenomena mentioned in this section are common to works by different authors, and that these occurrences in the works of Tacitus indicate nothing as to authorship.

c. The number of synonymous collocations decreases steadily from the *Dialogus* through the works of Tacitus. This fact is established, but are the *Agricola* and the *Germania* the means between the extremes of the *Dialogus* and the *Annals*, or are they the independent beginnings of a new style in which this element was much less common and decreased to the end? In answering this question we are met by two facts: So freely are these collocations allowed in the *Dialogus* that about a dozen are used which "apparently lack an exact or an analogous equivalent either in the writings of Tacitus or elsewhere." About the same number are paralleled only in the *Agricola* and the *Germania*. The following is the list given by Gudeman, *Dial. Proleg.* lv. With the *Dialogus* forms are also given the forms used by Tacitus so as to show the differences in the minor details of the form of statement:

Metus et terror, c. 5, 22 : *Agr.* 32, 8 metus ac terror; tueri et defendere, c. 7, 8 : *G.* 14, 4 defendere, tueri; nemora et luci, c. 9, 32; 12, 1 : *G.* 9, 8 l. ac n.; 10, 12 n. ac l.; 45, 22 nemora lucosque; fortuitus et subitus (*Baehrens ac subitus*), c. 10, 31 = *G.* 11, 4; aut gloria maior aut augustior honor, c. 12, 14 : *G.* 5, 5 suus honor aut gloria; ingenium ac studium, c. 14, 10 : *Agr.* 3, 8 ingenia studiaque; caeli siderumque, c. 16, 29 : *Agr.* 12, 14 caelum et sidera; vi et potestate, c. 19, 23 : (*H.* 2, 39, 2 v. ac p.); *G.* 42, 8 vis et potentia; vim et ardorem, c. 24, 2 : *Agr.* 8, 3 vim ardoremque; (*H.* 1, 62 ardor et vis); severitate ac disciplina, c. 28, 11; d. ac s. 28, 25 : *G.* 25, 7 d. et s.; ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque, c. 28, 20 : *Agr.* 9, 8 tempora curarum remissionumque; non probitati neque modestiae, c. 29, 7; p. et m. 40, 8 : *G.* 36, 4 modestia ac probitas; angustis et brevibus, c. 30, 27 = *G.* 6, 3; consilio et auctoritate, c. 36, 22 : *G.* 12, 11 consilium simul et auctoritas; quies et . . . otium et . . . tranquillitas et . . . disciplina, c. 38, 17 : *Agr.* 6, 14; 21, 3; 42, 5 quiete et otio; 40, 18 tranquillitatem atque otium.

Most of these can be found in other authors whose style has little in common with the style of Tacitus. It should be noticed

that there is indisputable parallelism in but few of the passages. *Angustis et brevibus*, c. 30, 27 = G. 6, 3, and the words are used in reverse order in Pliny Ep. 2, 7, 4 *vita eius brevis et angusta*. *Quies et otium* occur several times in Tacitus, but in the *Dialogus* they are only a part of the statement, c. 38, 17 *quies et . . . otium et . . . tranquillitas et . . . disciplina*. Sen. N. Q. 1, 2, 8 has the first three combined. *Fortuitus et subitus*, c. 10, 31, is probably correct, as *et* is used by Cicero in the same collocation which is found also G. 11, 4. The arrangement of the words in the collocations and the connectives are in most instances different in the works under consideration, which shows that Tacitus did not deal with the mere words in the same way as the author of the *Dialogus*. As the collocations in the works are not really parallel, they do not prove that the *Dialogus* is on the line of development running through the works of Tacitus, and for that reason this feature of the style of the *Dialogus* is shown not to be the basis out of which was developed the similar feature in the style of Tacitus.

2. *Parallel References*.—The *Dialogus* presents the same general features as the other works of the period in the arrangement of words and the use of rhetorical figures. In the use of words there are many striking coincidences in the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus. These have been presented by Gudeman (*Dial. Proleg.* xlii–xlix) with such fulness that his collections form a secure basis for comparisons in this respect between the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus. The coincidences, however, do not prove identity of authorship, though they may be used to strengthen other lines of argument. Taken by themselves, they tend to show that Tacitus might have written the *Dialogus*. Similar coincidences tend to show that Pliny or Quintilian might have written it. But setting aside this fact, the value of the coincidences must be determined in accordance with a few general considerations.

a. Some of the expressions are met with in authors whose style differs widely from that of the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus. This indicates that the words were within easy reach of any writer who wished to use them in the expression of ideas which were by no means abstruse or uncommon. Writers differing widely in style might readily select the same word in touching upon a similar point in very different lines of literary development. This

is shown by the use of the word *proelior* by Justinus, Val. Max., Tacitus and the writer of the *Dialogus*. *b.* The use of other words may be due entirely to the sources from which Tacitus and the writer of the *Dialogus* derived the main elements of their style. In Tacitus we have a reflection of Sallust and of Vergil; in the *Dialogus*, of Cicero. Elements common to the two sources may move along in entirely different currents of literary expression, and at the same period appear in works very unlike each other in style. Given an expression in Cicero and also in Sallust, Livy or Vergil, and students of each, entirely independent of each other, may reproduce the same expression. As illustrations of this may be given concessive *ut*, *quod si*, *ante . . . post*: 'superior to . . . inferior' (Sall., Livy, Sen. Phil.). *c.* Other words seem to have been the common property of the writers of the time. This is due to a common literary inheritance, and the influence of the rhetorical schools and their teachers. If it were proved, or if we accepted the supposition that Tacitus was for a time a pupil of Quintilian, the phenomena common to his writings and those of the pupils of Quintilian might be assigned to a common source, and all their value for this discussion would be lost. *Ipse* may be taken as an illustration of this and even of a still wider connection. According to Gudeman (I, 4) it occurs 66 times in the *Dialogus*, and in proportionately still larger ratio in the *Histories*. The *Laelius* of Cicero has the word relatively more frequently than has the *Dialogus*. A section as long as the *Dialogus*, chosen at random from the works of Seneca, had nearly as many occurrences; one from Pliny's *Epistles* had more. If we test all the parallel passages in the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus, many must be rejected as of no weight in showing identity of authorship. The residue must then be examined in connection with the residue obtained by treating the parallels in Pliny and Quintilian in the same way. A dozen unique parallels in Tacitus cannot be accepted as a certain indication of identity of authorship if it can be shown that there are ten in the works of Pliny. Until this careful examination is made of the works written about the same time as the *Dialogus*, it will be impossible to know just what weight is to be attached to the parallels adduced to indicate Tacitean authorship for the *Dialogus*. At the present time their value in the discussion of authorship is hardly commensurate with the mass.

3. *Stylistic Divergences.*—The various stylistic phases examined do not clearly point to Tacitus as the author of the *Dialogus*, and it will be necessary to present some other prominent characteristics of the latter. It is necessary to do this on account of the number of divergences from the form of statement in Tacitus. There are in it a score of *ἀπ. ἐρ.*, more than 150 words in the *Tac. Lex.* (A—reliquus) and a goodly number of meanings not found in Tacitus; a large number of words and meanings which can be paralleled by only a single occurrence in Tacitus; a number of stylistic laws which hold good for Tacitus, but for the *Dialogus* only by a change of text (see Gudeman ad c. 10, 25; 13, 19; 13, 24; 17, 25; 37, 18; 38, 2); a number of passages in which consistent Tacitean usage requires a change of text (see Gudeman ad c. 2, 15; 10, 20; 10, 36; 21, 33; 22, 3; 28, 14). Taking the text either with or without the changes made for the sake of conformity to the Tacitean norm, there are such a number of differences between the works that they cannot be put aside as of no value in the discussion.

4. *Cumulative Sentences in the Dialogus.*—Excluding the exclamatory and interrogative sentences in the *Dialogus*, the normal sentence is very long. There are numerous instances of the libration of clauses, and anaphora is common. In addition to the anaphoric clauses there are a number of successive clauses usually parallel in construction, and without connectives, e. g. 5, 22 *praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem feras*; 9, 15 *toto anno, per omnes dies, magna noctium parte*; 22, 11 *lentus . . . longus . . . otiosus*; 25, 18 *adstrictior Calvus, nervosior Asinius, splendidior Caesar, amarior Caelius, gravior Brutus, vehementior et plenior et valentior Cicero*; 31, 28 *Academici . . . Plato . . . Xenophon*; 32, 15 *ignorent . . . non teneant . . . derideant . . . reformident*; 34, 8 *magnus . . . multum . . . plurimum*; 34, 27 *discipulus . . . auditor . . . sectator*; 34, 29 *notae . . . non novi . . . frequens . . . saepe cognitae*.

Asyndeton with unmodified words is rarely allowed, e. g. 23, 10 *fastidiunt, oderunt, Calvi mirantur*. On the other hand, polysyndetic *et* more than three times repeated is comparatively frequent, e. g. 10, 17; 17, 4 *sed Ciceronem et Caesarem et Caelium, et Calvum et Brutum et Asinium et Messallam*; 18, 5; 19, 12; 25, 15; 37, 11; 39, 20. Gudeman ad 10, 17 cites three passages from

the works of Tacitus, and adds "Thereafter it disappears entirely, an asyndeton or variations with *et, ac, que* taking its place." Contrary to Tacitean usage, *aut* is repeated three or four times, e. g. 7, 5; 9, 22; 15, 9; 35, 19 *praemia aut electiones aut remedia aut incesta aut quidquid aliud*. The same freedom is used with *sive, vel* and *neque*. Taken as a whole, judging by the examples collected by Weinkoff, pp. 81 seqq., the Dialogus sentences contrasted with the Tacitean sentences are cumulative. *Neque*, for example, c. 38, 12, occurs five times in succession, followed by *non denique*. In Tacitus it occurs no more than three times in succession, H. 4, 74, 4. While the cumulative character of the Dialogus sentence differentiates it from the normal Tacitean sentence, the most noticeable feature is the duplication of corresponding parts.

5. *Duplication of Parts*.—The number of instances is comparatively small in which three or more single terms are repeated. Two of the best illustrations of this are the following: 31, 17 *sive apud infestos, s. ap. cupidos, s. ap. invidentes, s. ap. tristes, s. ap. timentes*; 18, 5 *horridi et impoliti et rudes et informes et quos . . .* Of these there are about 40. We have noticed about 130 instances in which there has been repetition of pairs of modified words, e. g. 28, 6 *desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui*; 21, 17 *sordes verborum et hians compositio et inconditi sensus*; 8, 30 *causis forensibus et oratorio studio*. The latter is a good example of the repetition of modified parts, but the number of these is scarcely one-third as large as the number in which the words are not modified, though a parallel construction is not always preserved in the two parts of the pair, e. g. 10, 33 *notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam*; 11, 9 *improbam et studiorum quoque sacra profanantem*; 22, 8 *iam senior et iuxta finem vitae*; 35, 15 *leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes*. Most of the pairs consist of two similar words repeated without modification, e. g. 8, 20 *agunt feruntque*; 11, 11 *notitiae ac nominis*; 12, 5 *pura atque innocentia*; 8, 12 *sordidius et abiecius*. These illustrate the usage with different parts of speech and different connectives, though *et* is used in most cases. Some features of this general usage are worthy of special consideration.

a. *Synonymous Collocations*.—These form but a small part of the entire number, yet the originality of the author is shown by the number which have no parallel in other writers. So strongly

marked is this feature of the style that we should expect abundant evidences of it in any later work by the same writer. The ones common to the smaller works have already been analyzed. However, but a comparatively few of them appear in Tacitus, and the combinations in Tacitus are often very different. The following, including some groups not synonymous, will illustrate this : 1, 17 animi et ingenii (21, 41) : G. 29, 11 mente animoque ; H. 1, 84, 4 quem animum, quas mentes ; Agr. 24, 9 ingenia cultusque hominum ; 42, 14 proprium humani ingenii . . . Domitiani vero natura ; Ann. 4, 33, 6 natura . . . ingenia ; Agr. 3, 8 ingenia studii ; 10, 2 curae ingeniive ; H. 2, 10, 4 pecunia, potentia, ingenio ; H. 4, 44, 15 ingenia et opes et . . . potentia. These are the combinations of the word *ingenium* in the works of Tacitus. In the *Dialogus* we have, 2, 12 ingenio et vi naturae ; 16, 3 eruditionem et i. ; 21, 14 i. ac vires ; 36, 29 i. et eloquentia ; 37, 11 i. et oratione ; 1, 2 i. gloriaque ; 24, 4 i. ac spiritu.

2, 16 industriae et laboris : Agr. 42, 21 i. ac vigor ; Ann. 4, 1, 19 i. ac vigilantia ; H. 2, 90, 3 i. temperantiamque ; Ann. 1, 44, 20 ; H. 1, 45, 8 i. innocentiaeque ; Ann. 3, 54, 26 i. ac severitatem ; 16, 23, 3 iustitia atque i. ; H. 2, 95, 10 probitate aut i. Dial. 30, 9 infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio. Ann. 4, 61, 5 meditatio et labor. The latter is frequently found combined with other nouns, e. g. patientia, constantia, vigilantia, periculum and opus, but not with industria.

2, 12 institutione et litteris. Ann. 16, 34, 4 Cynicae institutionis. Litterae, meaning literature, is found four times in the *Dial.*, once in Tacitus, H. 4, 86, 11.

8, 30 honoribus et ornamentis et facultatibus refertas domus. In Tac., ornamentum is always modified by consularis or triumphalis.

11, 4 detrectaret poetas . . . studium prosterneret. In Tac. detrectare does not have a personal object ; prosternere always takes one, except Ann. 3, 46, 15 molem (i. e. ferratos) p.

11, 11 ; 36, 20 notitiae ac nominis. notitia also c. 5, 18 ; 13, 6. G. 13, 16 ; H. 2, 37, 7 nomen, gloria.

11, 15 aera et imagines : Agr. 46, 11 imaginibus quae marmore aut aere finguntur. Ann. 4, 43, 9 monimenta sculpta saxi et aere prisco.

12, 19 fabulosa nimis et composita ; c. 31, 3 fictis nec ad veritatem accedentibus. Agr. 40, 11 ; H. 3, 78, 7 fict. et compos. ; H. 2, 50, 6 conquirere fabulosa et fictis oblectare.

21, 27 fecerunt carmina et in bibliothecas retulerunt. In Tac. carmen is used five times with factito, which is not in the Dialogus.

23, 27; 25, 30 malignitas et invidia: Agr. 41, 17 malignitate et livore. H. 1, 1, 11 obtrectatio et livor . . . adulationi . . . malignitati. Malignitas is also found, c. 15, 6; 18, 16 uncombined, but in Tacitus it is used only in connection with livor.

31, 11 naturam humanam et vim virtutum. Natura humana is not in Tacitus. Agr. 42, 14 h. ingenii. H. 1, 22, 16, reversed. H. 1, 15, 22 h. animi. H. 1, 55, 4; 2, 20, 7 insita mortalibus natura.

34, 28 eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis: Agr. 19, 2 doctus per aliena experimenta.

b. Amplification in one of the Parts.—*Natus.* 12, 10 usus recens et malis moribus natus; 10, 24 immanes illos et ad pugnam natos lacertos; 6, 4 libero et ingenuo animo et ad voluptates honestas nato; 7, 3 homo novus et in civitate minime favorabili natus; 16, 18 veteres et olim natos. Tacitus has no parallel examples.

Dignus. 16, 1 magnam et dignam tractatu; 20, 15 inlustre et dignum memoria. Pliny Ep. 1, 17, 2 pulchrum et magna laude dignum; 1, 22, 10 arduum in primis et praecipua laude dignum.

Et nullus. 12, 8 in illa casta et nullis contacta vitiis pectora. 28, 26 sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta . . . natura. Similar instances are given from Tacitus by Gudeman, Dial. Proleg. lvi. b., and are not uncommon in Seneca.

Future Participle. 10, 34 notabilem et cum auctoritate dicturam; 33, 9 iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri; 37, 4 inertes et non suffecturi honoribus.

A few other participles which show a slight difference between the Dialogus and Tacitus will be given here, though they do not properly come under this head. 22, 15 firmus et duraturus; 34, 24 magnam et duraturam. *Duraturus* is not used as an adjective by Tacitus. 9, 23 mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium. This is the only instance in the Dial. where the fut. part. is used in which the parts are not duplicated. In Tacitus *mansurus* is found several times, both singly and as one of a pair (see Tac. Lex.) This is however not a significant fact, for *mansurus* was so used by Vergil and Ovid, and several times by both the Senecas, and is found in Pliny, Quintilian and other writers of the period.

Adjectives and Adverbs. 6, 16 inter tacentes et in unum conversos. 7, 13 negotiosos et rebus intentos. 11, 9 improbam et

studiorum quoque sacra profanantem. 12, 17 dis genitos sacrosque. 16, 27 breve et in proximo. 18, 3 in medio sitam et propiorem. 22, 8 iam senior et iuxta finem vitae. 26, 20 incompotitus et studio feriendi plerumque deiectus. 29, 3 vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus. 30, 29 ornatē et apte ad persuadendum. 31, 3 fictis nec . . . ad veritatem accedentibus. 41, 18 invidiosis et excedentibus modum defensionibus. 31, 21 parato . . . et ad omnem usum reposito. 31, 26 aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos. 41, 13 inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos. Parallel Tacitean expressions seem confined to paratus.

c. Miscellaneous.—To this fondness for duplication may be ascribed the instances of hendyadis: 1, 14; 10, 23; 20, 21; 21, 14; 28, 12; 34, 1; 39, 7. It is also the cause of some expressions which are tautological: 26, 1 optimo et perfectissimo. 34, 19 optimus et electissimus. The duplication has affected both parts of the statement 41, 16 non imperiti et multi deliberent sed sapientissimus et unus. It is this prevailing tendency on the part of the writer which accounts for fatalis et meus dies (13, 25), longum et unum annum (17, 13), and solus et unus (34, 32), which are combined in other authors, though solus *et* unus seems confined to the Dialogus, and represents the author's usual method of connecting the parts in such expressions. Compare with the apologetic tone of Tacitus, Agr. 44, 19 continuo et velut uno ictu. Uno et eodem (22, 27) is a frequent combination, though it is not exactly paralleled by Germ. 24, 1 genus spectaculorum unum atque in omni coetu idem.

d. Composition of the Parts.—The Dialogus differs from the smaller works of Tacitus not only in number of occurrences of duplicated parts, but also in the make-up of the parts, and it is in this that the differences are most noticeable. In the Dialogus there are nearly 400 instances in which there has been a duplication of unmodified parts. Of this number there are about 160 each, where nouns and adjectives are used. In the Agr. and Germ., nouns are used in two-thirds of the instances, while adjectives are only two-fifths as numerous.

When there is a repetition of groups of modified words, e. g. c. 1, 15 excogitata subtiliter et dicta graviter; 2, 8 mira cupiditate et ardore iuvenili; 5, 5 usu amicitiae et adsiduitate contubernii; 6,

23 commendat eventum et lenocinatur voluptati, the differences are equally noticeable. In the *Dialogus* the most numerous pairs are those composed of nouns, 37 per cent. of all, while in the *Agr.* and *Germ.* they form but 21 per cent. Not only is there a distinctly recognized difference in the make-up of the pairs, but they are differently used in the formation of sentences. The most noticeable instances in the smaller works of Tacitus are *Agr.* 4, 17 scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. 31, 5 corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Where there is repetition of pairs of words they generally stand in different case relations to the verb, as in the last example, e. g. *Germ.* 4, 8; 24, 7. There is no indication of any attempt on the part of Tacitus to make this a noticeable feature in the style. In the *Dialogus* there is, as can be seen from the following: 5, 22 praesidium amicis, opem alienis, salutem periclitantibus, invidis vero et inimicis metum et terrorem ultro feras, ipse securus et velut quadam perpetua potentia ac potestate munitus. 7, 16; 10, 13; 20, 8 vulgus quoque adistentium et adfluens et vagus auditor adsuevit iam exigere laetitiam et pulchritudinem orationis. 20, 15; 21, 35 temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat. 25, 22 quandam iudicii ac voluntatis similitudinem et cognationem.

The difference between the *Dialogus* and the works of Tacitus in this respect can be briefly stated. In the *Dialogus* it is a fundamental element in the style, and in the works of Tacitus it is not. Neither in the examples of synonymous collocations common to the *Dialogus* and the smaller works of Tacitus, nor in the examples of duplicated parts not synonyms, do we find Tacitus continuing the lines of expression developed in the *Dialogus*. As the words in the duplicated parts in the *Dialogus* are but rarely used in the same way by Tacitus; as there is a noticeable difference between the works in reference to the parts of speech used in the pairs, as well as in the use of the pairs in sentences, there is sufficient ground for claiming that in the treatment of duplicated parts the *Agricola* is the beginning of a new form of expression distinct from that in the *Dialogus*.

6. *Different Attitude toward the Same Words.*—There is considerable difference between the *Dialogus* and the works of

Tacitus in reference to the amount of metaphorical material used. Some of the words occurring in each are used metaphorically in the Dialogus, but in their ordinary physical meaning in Tacitus. This may be partially caused by the requirements of the subject presented in the Dialogus, but at the same time it must be admitted that it is one of the differences between the Dialogus and the other works. The Germania has less of this material than has the Agricola, which in this respect is about the same as the Annals and Histories.

A few other instances will be noticed in which the writers seem to stand in different attitudes toward the same word. Of those only in the Dialogus and Annals, D. has *interdictum* as a substantive; A., only the verb forms of *interdico*; A. uses *excessus* = *mors*; *oblectamentum* only in the plural; *intentio* not of persons; *occupationes* without *rerum*. Both works have the apologetic *velut freni*, D. 38, 8; Ann. 5, 3, 4. If Tacitus wrote the Dialogus about 81 A. D., it is not exactly clear why, in the Annals, he should have apologized for the use of a figure which he used so many years before. Both D. and H. have *fax* in a transferred sense. Its first occurrence in Tacitus is H. 1, 24 *flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat Maevius*. *Velut* is omitted when it occurs again, H. 2, 86, 20 *bello facem praetulit*.

Of the words found in only D., H. and A., D. has *se abstinere ab*; *altus* of persons; *alumnus* feminine; *confessum*; *deinceps* without correlative; *velut in aciem educere*; *facultas* = *opes*; *periculum increpuit*; *infructuosus* with *laus* (in H. and A. with *militia* only); *impeditus* with *oratio*; *inhonestum factu*; *mutus et elinguis*; (in H. and A., *m.* with *inanimus*); *nedum ut*; *perge* (in *oratione*); *pondus* of immaterial things; *principium* = *exordium*. The list of differences might be much extended and swollen to large proportions by the addition of those expressions which are found in the Dialogus and but once or twice in the other works. Considering the mass of the different works, the appearance but once or twice in the works of Tacitus of a Dialogus expression comparatively common must be interpreted as indicating a different attitude of the writers toward the expression. The avoidance by Tacitus of the use, e. g. of *cum . . . tum*, *natus ad*, *dum modo*, *quod . . . attinet*, and *nescio an* is shown by the fact that they are sporadic in his writings. The chief differences can be seen in the use of a few words which Tacitus uses instead of the ones found in the Dialogus. The fact that he does not have *augustus* as an adjective,

exhortor (Tac. *hortor*), *historia*, *insanus*, *invidus*, *moralis*, *percipio*, *poeta*, *cum praesertim*, is noticeable, but it is in the cases where there has been a distinct substitution that the proof is decisive against the theory of Tacitean authorship.

The Dialogus has *fidelis*, and Tac. Ann. 15, 67 has it in a quotation. Both are in the comparative, though Tacitus has *magis fidus* twice, and the other forms 47 times. *Infidelis* is not used by either, *infidus* only by Tacitus.

The Dialogus has *inexercitatus*, Tacitus *inexpertus*. Of the affirmative forms, T. has *expertus* eight times, *exercitatus* in but one doubtful passage.

The Dialogus has *quae cum dixisset* 11, 1; 24, 1. *Ubi* supplants *cum* in Tacitus, in similar phrases.

Fere is used four or five times in the Dialogus. Tacitus has it but once in a doubtful passage, while *ferme* occurs 28 times.

Propter is the Dialogus word, while Tacitus has *ob*, except in one passage, H. 1, 65, 3 *propter* Neronem Galbamque pugnaretur. Here the meaning 'proxime accedit ad de,' and cannot be paralleled by any passage in Tacitus with *ob*, which is used with proper names only when the name is modified by a participle, the two representing an abstract noun and a genitive. A. 1, 44, 15 *ob* imminentis Suebos; 1, 50, 2 *ob* amissum Augustum; 2, 60, 3 *ob* sepultum illic rectorem navis Canopum; 3, 11, 2 *ob* receptum Maroboduum; 12, 9, 8 *ob* accusatam Messalinam.

Ni is used 72 times in Tacitus, not at all in the Dialogus and Germania, though the latter, excepting 11, 3 'coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus,' uses *nisi* only with adverbial force, which is not the case in the Agricola.

A stronger example is *haud*, which Tacitus uses 234 or 235 times. The number per page Teubner text is slightly lower in the Agricola and Germania than in the Histories, and in them lower than in the Annals. This might seem a development, but the Histories average the same as the second part of the Annals, Book XIII having the least number per page of any section in the works of Tacitus, the largest number being in Book II. So unevenly distributed is the word through the different books that the omission of a single book from the different sections of the larger works will make the proportion nearly the same for all. The Dialogus has 'non facile dixerim,' 35, 6, while 'haud' is the prevailing negative in such expressions in Tacitus. It has 'plane' (26, 34) for 'haud dubie,' which Tacitus has nine times; it consist-

ently avoids using *haud* with *minus*, *multum* and *satis*. There are no signs of development in the use of the word; there is no connecting link between the Dial. and the works of Tacitus. In this respect they are simply antagonistic in form of expression, and no cause has been presented which might have brought about a change from the fixed type of the Dial. form of expression to the distinct and equally fixed type in the works of Tacitus.

Non modo . . . sed etiam and Equivalents.—A careful analysis of over five thousand examples of this formula in the principal Latin writers shows great differences between individual writers, but great uniformity in each writer, even where the authorship has extended over many years, as in the case of Cicero and Livy. In its use of the formula the Dial. differs widely from the works of Tac., and in explaining the differences, genetic development plays no part, for the variations in the Dial. are as distinct from those in Cic. and Quintilian as they are from those in Tacitus. The Dial. does not imitate Cicero in this respect. It has *non tantum* 14, 16; 22, 18 and perhaps 33, 10 where the reading is uncertain. In the second member it has *sed . . . quoque* 2, 7; 10, 15; 37, 10. Both of these are very rarely found in Cicero. In Tac., *modo* is in most instances not separated from the negative; in the Dial. in all cases excepting perhaps 2, 6. In the first member Tac. prefers *non modo*; the Dial. *non solum*. In the second member Tac. has *sed* in a majority of instances; the Dial., *sed etiam*. Of the twenty-four different combinations of the words of the formula, six are found only in the Dial., while three others, occurring eight times in all, are found in the Dial. and the works of Tacitus. In other words, two-thirds of the Dial. combinations do not occur in Tac. at all, and the other third only sporadically. The Agr. has one combination, and the Germ. two, which do not appear in the Ann. and Hist., whose most common combinations do not appear in the Dialogus at all.

A fair interpretation of all the statements in the Dialogus as to the date of publication indicates a later date than is possible if it were written by Tacitus. At the same time there are no reasons for believing that Crispus, who is attacked in the Dialogus, lost his power during the reign of Titus. Even if he had, the relation of Tacitus to the entire imperial family precluded the authorship of such a work by him. He was the recipient of imperial favors, and if he had published under Titus a work attacking the favorite of the next emperor, it is not at all probable that he would

have been advanced by that emperor, or have passed unpunished during the life of the favorite. The hypothesis of psychological change in Tacitus has been shown not to be a valid reason for verbal changes, nor does the theory of genetic development in some features of style show anything more than a possibility of authorship by Tacitus, while in the case of duplicated parts it does not hold at all. The stylistic correspondences between the different works are many, but not altogether peculiar to them nor necessarily indicative of sameness of authorship. Opposed to these are differences for which no theory accounts, and which are decisive against the claims made for Tacitus.

There are some distinct gains in establishing an independent, non-Tacitean authorship for the *Dialogus*. Its grammatical features require no remodelling at points where they do not agree with the Tacitean norm. It will have the value of an independent work revealing new forms of expression, ranking co-equal with the works of Tacitus, and not as now a subject to Tacitean laws of style. It will relieve commentators from the necessity of crowding assumptions into the literary development of Tacitus, and will leave them free to accept a more direct interpretation of the work especially in reference to chronological data.

Who the writer was cannot be determined, unless there may be found in some work of a later writer a direct quotation assigned to its author. Against Pliny and Quintilian, as well as Tacitus, the negative argument is conclusive. However, from the work we can establish a few elements in his intellectual and moral make-up. That he was a rhetorician is shown by the prevailing schoolish tone of the work. Taking Cicero as a model, he presented his work under the mantle of others, but without a trace that he did not consider himself a master of the art of expression. His self-confidence in this respect is in marked contrast with the apologetic tone of Tacitus in his first work, '*non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse.*' As illustrations of contemporary oratory he puts forward two imperial favorites, Vibius Crispus and Marcellus; the powerful friend of Domitian, Regulus, '*omnium bipedum nequissimus*' (Pliny Ep. 1, 5, 14), and Messalla, who had won renown by the defence of his infamous brother. As the writer posited the dialogue, the speakers, and the circumstances under which the dialogue was held, the selection of such men as representatives shows his own political attitude, for he

might have presented the subject differently had he chosen to publish the work as the result of his own reflections. His bias is also shown by his attitude toward Helvidius Priscus. C. 5, 31, he says of Marcellus, 'inexercitatam et eius modi certaminum rudem Helvidii sapientiam elusit.' If this refers to the last attempt of Helvidius to crush Marcellus, the characterization of the oratory of Helvidius is not correct, for Tacitus says of their speeches in the first contest, H. 4, 6, 6 'primo minax certamen et egregiis utriusque orationibus testatum,' placing the men as equals in oratorical power, nor does he consider the result as a triumph on the part of Marcellus, 'mox dubia voluntate Galbae, multis senatorum deprecantibus, omisit Priscus.' The failure of the last attempt as stated by Tacitus was due to the intervention of Domitian and Mucianus, and was considered as a victory over the senate endeavoring to regain its liberty, while in the *Dialogus* it is considered as a personal contest between the two men. Agr. 2; Ann. 4, 34-35, when compared with the *Dialogus*, also show an entirely different attitude on the part of the writers to the powers restricting the freedom of speech. The *Dialogus* has no word of condemnation for those who endangered the safety of Maternus, while Tacitus, especially at the close of c. 35, reflects on the attitude of rulers to free speech. It may be said that the feeling of hostility was developed in Tacitus, but it would be expected that a man at least twenty-five years of age would have at least some trace of independent thought in reference to so important a question.

His political attitude is further shown by the omissions in the *Dialogus*. The represented occasion of the dialogue was the endangered safety of Maternus caused by his freedom of speech with reference to those in power. But the writer did not seize the occasion created by his own setting of the dialogue and show the sum-total of the effects on oratorical and literary expression of imperial despotism since the days of Augustus. In his discussion he mentions the 'principis disciplina' as the most important of four causes which had tamed down an eloquence developed under conditions of true liberty, but which the *Dialogus* (40, 9) terms 'eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocant.' There are abundant evidences in the work of a well-developed rhetorical training, and it is probable that he was a pupil of Quintilian, who wrote his work before the publication of the *Dialogus*, and for that reason has no indications of either the acceptance or the

rejection of the teachings in the work of his pupil. He expressed the sentiment to be found in many places in Latin, that the good old days were better than the present. His literary criticisms and characterizations usually conform to the judgment of the age as expressed by Tacitus and Quintilian. His attitude on moral questions has been compared to that of Tacitus. There is a resemblance, for his reflections are such as we should expect from a man who wrote in an age which had received from Seneca the moral precepts which are also reflected in the works of Tacitus. See Zimmermann, *De Tacito Senecae Philosophi Imitatore*. Breslau, 1889. Taking into consideration the fact that he did not come boldly forward as an author and present his work as his own, and interpreting this as the result of the political influences around him, the time best suited for authorship is during the latter part of the reign of Domitian, and toward this period converge all the lines of evidence as to the date of publication.

From the mass of the writings of Cicero the work of Cornificius has been separated, and the claim for its real author has been vindicated, but for the present we must rest content to restore the *Dialogus* to the Auctor ad Fabium Iustum.

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III.—THE DRAMATIC SYNCHOREGIA AT ATHENS.

The discovery and publication in recent years of a large body of new material bearing on the choregia, and the fruitful labors of Lipsius, Reisch, Köhler, Bergk, Brinck and others upon this material, have made it possible at the present time to present in its general outlines, with essential accuracy, the history of the most important branch of the subject—the dramatic choregia at Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries. But to any one who musters the sources it soon becomes apparent that there are several serious lacunae in our knowledge, and several points at which the details in the history still elude our grasp. It is the purpose of this paper to supply, if possible, some of these details, by a re-examination of the inscriptional evidence and by combining with it some evidence, hitherto overlooked, derived from the contemporary literature.

Our knowledge of the institution of the dramatic synchoregia depends, in the first instance, on a statement of Aristotle quoted by the scholiast to Aristoph. Ran. 404, to the effect that under the archonship of Callias a decree was passed providing that two choregi, instead of one, should be appointed for each tragic and comic poet for the Dionysia. The correctness of this statement is attested by a number of inscriptions.

Was the Callias under whom this change was made δ μετὰ Κλεόκριτον (412/11) or δ μετ' Ἀντιγένη (406/5)? The earlier view of Böckh¹—now held by Brinck,² Oehmichen,³ and Gilbert⁴—favors the earlier date. The more natural opinion, however, held by A. Müller, Reisch and others, follows the statement of the

¹ Staatshaushaltung³, I, p. 538, corrected in the footnote from Böckh's own notes.

² Inscriptiones graecae ad choregiam pertinentes, p. 92 ff.

³ Oehmichen, Bühnenwesen, p. 196. He doubts, however, the correctness of the notice of the scholiast, "trotzdem sie sich mit der Autorität des Aristoteles brüstet." Lys. 21, 1, which he quotes in support, simply calls for a date later than 411.

⁴ Constitutional Antiquities, p. 360, n. 1. To the above names may be added Bodensteiner, Ueber choregische Weihinschriften, p. 78, and Bethe, De scaenicarum certaminum victoribus, p. 7.

scholiast, who identifies the Callias in question with the Callias under whom the Frogs was produced. It may be claimed, however, that the identification rests on the authority of the scholiast alone; that Aristotle, following his usual custom,¹ gave the name of the archon with no distinguishing epithet. If this be granted, a plausible argument could be made for the earlier date from the financial condition of Athens just before the collapse of the Sicilian expedition. The answer to these objections is to be found in the passage in the Frogs upon which the scholiast's comment is made. Since the historical allusion has regularly been missed by modern commentators, I shall present the case at some length.

**Ἰακχε, φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με*
 404. *σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω μὲν ἐπὶ γέλῳτι*
κάπ' εὐτελείᾳ τὸν τε σανδαλίσκον
καὶ τὸ ῥάκος, κάξεύρες ὥστ'
ἀζημίους παίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν.

Schol. ad loc.: *σὺ γὰρ κατεσχίσω] ἴσον τῷ διὰ σὲ κατεσχίσθη. . . . ἔοικε δὲ παρεμφαίνειν ὅτι λιτῶς ἤδη ἐχορηγεῖτο τοῖς ποιηταῖς. (ἐπὶ γοῦν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδυο ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς· ὥστε ἴσως ἦν τις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ληναϊκὸν ἀγῶνα συστολή, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ τινι καὶ καθάπαξ περιεῖλε Κινησίας τὰς χορηγίας κτέ.)*²

The scholiast did not understand the purpose of the change, for it was the intention of the legislator to give the poets undiminished support, while reducing by one-half the expense of each choregus. The scholiast was misled by a literal interpretation of *κατεσχίσω*, saw in the passage only another allusion to the stinginess of the choregi, and was withal too eager to find a premonition of the total abolition of the choregia, which, he believed, was soon to be accomplished. That it was not abolished by Cinesias is sufficiently shown by Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.* 56, 3. The whole interpretation of the scholiast must therefore be rejected, and we must go back to the text for the true meaning, using as the key the excerpt from Aristotle which some intelligent

¹ Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, p. 8.

² It will be observed that the quotation from Aristotle is not in the Codex Ravennas. It is apparent, however, that, as they stand, both scholia agree in the interpretation, though the reference to Aristotle is no longer in point. Probably the source of the second scholium had the correct understanding of the passage, simply quoting Aristotle in explanation.

commentator of an early date wrote on the margin of the manuscript. It seems to me that we have in the text not simply a general allusion to the shabby costume with which the choreutae must needs be content, although that is there, but a direct reference to the joint choregia of two men which had been introduced that year, and for which the chorus expresses its gratitude to Iacchus, ὁ φιλοχορευτής, who has come to the rescue of his worshippers at this time of need and has preserved their rites unharmed. As the poet would put it, the choregia "has been split." In his usual manner he mingles fact and fancy, the literal and the metaphorical, to the confusion of commentators ancient and modern.¹ The historical allusion comes first. Iacchus is the friend of the dancer, "for thou it is who didst have my little sandal and my tattered garment split in twain for fun and for economy, and didst hit upon a way whereby I might play and dance unharmed." Then another member of the chorus takes up the literal meaning of the words and the ἐπὶ γέλῳ to point the characteristic jest: νῦν δὲ κατεῖδον, καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου, συμπαιστρίας, χιτωνίου παραρραγέντος, τιθῖον προκύψαν. To my mind the conclusion is irresistible that the synchoregia, so explicitly referred to in this passage, if the proposed interpretation is correct, was an event of recent date.²

The question has been raised as to whether the scholiast rightly understands τὰ Διονύσια in the statement of Aristotle to mean the City Dionysia alone. Brinck³ leaves the question in doubt, though he inclines to the belief that both festivals are included in the expression. Bergk⁴ believed that the law passed under

¹ Nor is the advantage in favor of the modern. See, for example, Kock's comments on the passage. The textual changes which he and Blaydes propose, and of which others have approved, are, it need hardly be said, unnecessary.

² The allusion to the χορηγία in the Frogs is indicated not only by the epithet φιλοχορευτής and by κατεσχίσω, but also by χορεύειν, which here means 'to serve as χορευτής.' See Wilamowitz, Herakles², II, p. 149.

Bodensteiner, op. cit., p. 78, concedes the claim of Oehmichen that Lys. 21, 1, καταστὰς δὲ χορηγὸς τραγωδοῖς ἀνέλωσα τριάκοντα μνᾶς (in the year 411/10), is against the synchoregia, not, however, on the ground that the speaker names no fellow-choregus, but because the sum expended is too large. He suggests that the text is corrupt. But I believe that the phraseology in all such cases excludes the supposition of a joint choregia, and that this passage could be used, if necessary, as a further argument against the date 412/11.

³ Op. cit., p. 94: "si Athenis lex ferebatur σύνδυο χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια, bene statui potest, significata esse et Διονύσια τὰ μεγάλα et Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ."

⁴ Gesch. d. gr. Litt. III, p. 70, n. 275.

Callias was for the City Dionysia, but suggested that a similar law had previously been passed for the Lenaeae festival. At first glance it may seem that the Lenaea were included in the law of Callias, because the *Frogs* was produced at the Lenaea. On the other hand, τὰ Διονύσια and Διονύσια are the designations regularly given to the city festival in the fifth and fourth centuries. The addition of τὰ ἐν ᾄστει or τὰ ἀστικά is found only a few times in the fifth century, while τὰ μεγάλα does not occur until the latter part of the fourth century. In many instances it can be shown that τὰ Διονύσια and Διονύσια refer to the City Dionysia exclusively, and I have failed to find an instance where a reference to the Lenaea is implied with certainty. The usage of Aristotle in this matter is well illustrated in chap. 56 and 57 of the *Πολιτεία*, where Διονύσια is as distinctly opposed to Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ as Διονύσια τὰ μεγάλα. But the most convincing proof that Aristotle had in mind the city festival alone is furnished by *Lys.* 21, 4, where we are told that the speaker won a victory as choregus for the comic poet Cephisodorus in the archonship of Euclid. At this date a single person could have been appointed choregus only for the Lenaea.

It remains to determine the date of the discontinuance of the synchoregia. It will be convenient to discuss the tragic and the comic choregia separately, although the assumption seems to prevail that, as the two were treated alike in the law of Callias, so the expedient of the joint choregia must have been abandoned at the same time for both. Brinck¹ suggests that single choregi were again appointed when tragedies began to be presented singly. But, as A. Müller² points out, the inscription which he cites in support (*CIA.* II 973—date, 342–340) does not prove that the poets contested with single tragedies. In fact, *CIA.* IV 2, fr. g, p. 218 (348/7), proves the contrary—that one choregus provided for all the plays presented by each poet. This is about the time when Meidias served alone as choregus for tragedy (*Dem. Meid.* 156). Fragment c of *CIA.* II 971, which has been extracted by Köhler from the almost hopeless jumble of Pittakis' copy, and which is even now not very certain, bears the name of the archon Theodotus (387/6) and of the choregus and poet of the preceding year. Since tragedy is always the last event mentioned in these yearly records, it follows that in the year 388/7 a single choregus was appointed in tragedy.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

² *Philologus*, Supp. VI, p. 95.

The following inscription was first published by Philios in *Ath. Mitth.* 19 (1894), p. 174 f., and is now to be found in the *Attic Corpus*, IV 2, p. 254. It was found at Eleusis. The restorations are certain and will not be indicated.

Γνάθις Τιμοκῆδος Ἀναξανδρίδης Τιμαγόρο
 χορηγῶντες κωμῳδοῖς ἐνίκων.
 Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδασκεν.
 ἑτέρα νίκη τραγῳδοῖς.
 Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκεν.

Foucart¹ has shown that it is extremely probable that the second victory was won by the younger Sophocles with his grandfather's play, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, in the year 401. As regards the victory in comedy, he argues as follows: "Les deux dernières lignes sont de la même main que les premières; ce n'est donc pas une addition faite postérieurement pour une victoire gagnée plus tard; l'inscription a été gravée en une seule fois. Par conséquent, la victoire tragique a été antérieure à la victoire comique." And so, he proceeds to say, the comic victory was won between 399 and 389. I confess that I am unable to understand the logic of this argument. If the two records were inscribed at the same time, the only indication of the order in which the victories were won is the order in which they are recorded. The *ἑτέρη νίκη* was unquestionably the second, and consequently the comic victory must have been won before 401 and after 405. Incidentally it may be said that in the comedy was possibly the *Γηρυτιάδης*, a play similar to the *Frogs* in conception, and produced about the same time.

In another synchoregic inscription, *CIA.* III 1280, three victories are grouped together in which the poets were Dicaeogenes, Ariphron and Polychares respectively. Köhler dates the inscription "ad initia saeculi quarti." Brinck (p. 106) thinks that the alphabet employed (ο for ου, but ω and η) points to a date not long after 411. Each is evidently influenced by the date which he accepts of the synchoregic law. Dicaeogenes² was a tragic poet, contemporary with Agathon, who flourished, as Kayser shows,³ between 424 and 393. Ariphron was not before known

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, 19 (1895), p. 119 ff. Köhler then is wrong in dating the inscription before Euclid.

² Welcker, *Die griechischen Tragödien*, p. 1045.

³ Kayser, *Hist. crit. trag. Graec.*, p. 251.

as a tragic poet, but he is probably Ariphron of Sicyon, the dithyrambic poet mentioned by Athenaeus 15, 702 *a*. About Polychares nothing is known. With this meagre information, and keeping as near 403 as possible, and assuming no long interval between the various victories that are recorded on the same stone, we may fix the date of the three victories approximately in the years 404, 403, 402, 400, 399. The year 401 and possibly 398 and 397 are already occupied by tragic victories.¹

Turning now to the contemporary literature, we are able to arrive at more definite results. In a number of orations of the early part of the fourth century the services of a number of citizens in the choregia are mentioned, always in such a manner that one must infer that they served singly. In Isaeus 5, 36 the speaker relates that Dicaeogenes was so stingy that he got last place when choregus for tragedy. The immediate context shows that this was between 399 and the time of speaking, 389. We learn from Lys. 19, 29 and 42 that Aristophanes was choregus for tragedy twice in five years—once for his father and once in his own name—and that he was trierarch three times in succession between the battle of Cnidus and his death in 389. Since the family had no property before this battle, so heavy a liturgy would hardly have been imposed on them in the year of the battle. The trierarchies must have been after 390, when the Athenians first fitted out a fleet after the war with Sparta. This leaves only 393/2 and 392/1 for the two choregies.² Therefore between 399, the latest date of a tragic synchoregia of which there is evidence, and 393, the tragic synchoregia was abolished. Taking into account the financial condition of Athens at this time, we may consider ca. 394 the probable date of the resumption of the single choregia for tragedy.³

Navarre⁴ appeals to CIA. II 971, fr. *d*, for proof that the comic synchoregia was given up in the course of the first half of the fourth century. Unfortunately this inscription, which tells of the

¹ 401, Oed. Col.; 398, first appearance (victory?) of Astydamos, cf. Mar. Par. 81; 397, appearance (and victory?) of the younger Sophocles; the Iph. Aul., Alcmeon and Bacchae were brought out soon after the death of Euripides. One of the above dates must therefore be reserved for these.

² This result is taken from Blass, *Att. Bered.*², p. 532, note.

³ We have no knowledge that, while the synchoregia was in operation, a single person might, under exceptional circumstances, be called upon to equip a chorus, as in the case of the syntrierarchia.

⁴ Dionysos, p. 16.

choregia of Diopeithes in a comic contest in which the poet Procleides was victor, bears no date. Köhler now assigns it to a period "several decades after the beginning of the fourth century."¹ It must, however, be assigned to a considerably later date.² The victory was won at the City Dionysia, for choruses of men and boys are mentioned in the record. Now, in the great inscription which gives the number of victories won by the various poets in the dramatic contests (CIA. II 977, fr. *g*), the comic poet Procleides is accredited with one victory. This list also refers to the City Dionysia. The identification seems certain. The name of Procleides comes immediately after Timocles and before Menander. Menander won his first victory in 321.³ Timocles won his single victory not a long time before, for it is not likely that, in a long interval, only one new poet should have been successful. Timocles was a contemporary of Demosthenes and Hypereides, but he exhibited as late as the second decade before 300.⁴ The earliest comedy of his that can be dated was produced about 345.⁵ From these indications we should be reasonably safe in dating the victory of Timocles and that of Procleides within about a decade before 321. Fragment *d*, therefore, of this list of victors at the City Dionysia, originally had a place near fragments *h* and *e*, which belong together, the first column of fr. *h* being continued by the second column of fr. *e*. It will readily be seen by reference to the facsimiles that unless we can date the victory of Procleides before 335, which we have shown to be improbable, fr. *d* can find a place only between fr. *h*, col. 1 and fr. *e*, col. 2, and hence is the record for the year 332/1. Another fragment of the same inscription (fr. *h*, CIA. IV, p. 219) gives a single choregus for comedy in the record for 330/29.

The metrical inscription CIA. III 1285 has been the subject of considerable discussion. As restored by Köhler, the first line reads:

ἡδυνέλωτι χορῶ Διονύσια σ[ύ]μ[π]οτε ἐν[ίκων].

¹ He at first assigned it to the beginning of the fourth century. Ath. Mitth. 3 (1878), p. 109.

² Oehmichen cannot have examined this inscription very carefully, for he cites it as proof that the synchoregia, if it ever existed, was "nicht von langem Bestande": op. cit., p. 196.

³ Anon. de comoedia, III 81 (Dübner).

⁴ Bergk, Gesch. gr. Litt. III, p. 163.

⁵ Meineke, I, pp. 387 and 429.

It is accordingly a synchoregic inscription, as is now admitted by all. Köhler thinks that the reference is to a victory won at Athens, to commemorate which the choregi set up a stone in their own deme—for the inscription was found outside of Athens. Reisch¹ evidently shares this view, for he considers this inscription a refutation of the statement of Schol. Ran. 404, that Cinesias abolished the choregia. Brinck,² however, yields to the authority of the scholiast on this point, and is compelled to explain this inscription (and CIA. II 1278) as commemorating a victory at the Rural Dionysia in the deme to which the choregi belonged. Now the story of the abolition of the choregia by Cinesias is a fiction built upon the epithet *χοροκτόνος* applied to him by the comic poet Strattis,³ and is abundantly refuted by unimpeachable evidence. Brinck's view, however, may be correct so far as CIA. II 1278 is concerned—an inscription found outside of Athens, referring to a comic choregia of a single person. But as regards this metrical inscription, the fact that it involves the synchoregia, an arrangement which we know to have existed in Athens, and which did not, so far as we know, obtain anywhere else, certainly puts upon Brinck the burden of proof, and gives us the right to refer this document to a victory won at Athens. An example precisely analogous to this is furnished by the synchoregic inscription from Eleusis discussed above. This metrical inscription is dated by Köhler, on epigraphical grounds, after the middle of the fourth century. The comic synchoregia, therefore, continued until after 350 and was discontinued before 332.

Very little direct evidence on the subject of the tribal choregia for comedy can be drawn from documents at present available. The only direct information which we have is given by Aristotle in 'Αθ. πολ. 56, 3 *πρότερον δὲ καὶ κωμφοδοῖς καθίστη (ὁ ἀρχων) πέντε (χορηγούς), νῦν δὲ τοὺς αἱ φυλαὶ φέρουσιν*. I have advanced the view elsewhere, on the strength of the history of the chorus, that the change from appointment of choregi by the archon to election by the tribes took place after 350. The history of the synchoregia, in my opinion, is in favor of this view. There is nothing to show that the institution of the synchoregia in 406 was attended immediately by the increase of the comedies to be presented

¹ De mus. Graec. certam., p. 45.

² Op. cit., p. 139 f.

³ See my article, on 'The Chorus in the later Greek Drama': Am. Jour. Arch. 10 (1895), p. 316 ff.

from three to five, as Wilamowitz assumes.¹ On the contrary, it seems to me extremely improbable, when one considers that the synchoregia was adopted under stress of great financial difficulties. When money became easier, at some time before 388,² it pleased the people better, instead of reverting to the old system of single choregi, to increase the number of comedies to be provided for. Nor is there evidence that the method of appointing was changed at that time. Selection by the tribes came only when the synchoregia was given up. We may infer from Aristotle's *πρότερον* that the change was made not long before. The omission of all mention of the tribe in the two official inscriptions of this period which refer to the comic choregia (CIA. II 971, fr. *d*, and CIA. IV, fr. *h*, p. 219) shows that the part of the tribe consisted only in the election of the choregi, and that it did not share in the victory, at least not in the same sense and degree as in the case of the cyclic choruses.³ The selection of the comic choregi by the tribes was naturally suggested by the number (5) of the comic poets to be provided for, and was finally brought about at a time (1) when the cost of the comic choregia had fallen off considerably, so that the co-operation of two choregi for each poet was unnecessary, (2) when the number of rich citizens had diminished, so that it was easier to find five choregi than ten, and (3) when the burden of the liturgies was very unequally distributed. It would be most natural under such circumstances that the abolition of the synchoregia should have been accompanied by the transfer of the appointing power to the tribes, for the main object aimed at, viz. a more equal distribution of the burden according to wealth, could not so easily be accomplished if the appointing power rested with the archon. Now

¹ Aristoteles u. Athen, I, p. 254, note 144. The whole account of the choregia which Wilamowitz outlines here seems to me to be extremely inexact. He assumes that *πρότερον καθίστη* in Aristotle refers to an intermission in the custom which prevailed from the beginning of the selection of comic choregi by the tribes. The only safe inference, however, is that the appointing power was vested in the archon from the time of the admission of comedy into the City Dionysia, and that it so remained until transferred to the tribes, not long before the time of writing. My statement of Wilamowitz's position on this point on p. 319, n. 45 of my article on the Chorus is inexact.

² The first recorded occurrence of five comedies was in 388, when the Plutus was presented. See Hypothesis to Plutus.

³ Navarre is therefore not justified in saying, p. 16, n. 3: "ce furent des concours non plus entre individus mais entre tribus."

the period in which the economic conditions which I have described are to be found in the highest degree was the period embraced in the financial administration of Lycurgus. The same tendency to throw upon the very rich the burdens which had previously rested upon them with less weight than upon the well-to-do citizens was exhibited during this period in still other directions. The propositions made by Demosthenes in 340 in regard to the symmories, for example, and the diversion of the theoric fund toward the expenses of war, accomplished in 338, were both steps in the same direction. The very rich were the chief opponents of these measures because they would suffer most heavily by the change. The abolition of the synchoregia and the transfer of the appointing power to the tribes was a very simple method of accomplishing, in the matter of the choregia, a reform for which a more complicated machinery was necessary in the case of the trierarchia. If we should assign this double change to ca. 340, I believe that we should not be far astray. The advantage of the change to the moderately wealthy was offset by a loss of administrative power, which became the cause of great changes in the form¹ and the manner of presentation of comedy; for the tribes could not insist so effectively as the archon on the maintenance of a high standard and a liberal supply of money on the part of the choregi. At a time when public spirit was at a low ebb, a strong directing hand was the more necessary.

The main results of this investigation into the history of the dramatic synchoregia may be summarized as follows. In 406 a law was passed providing for the conjunction of two citizens in the tragic and comic choregia for the City Dionysia. Between 399 and 394—probably nearer the latter date—this law was repealed for tragedy, while for comedy the synchoregia was retained, and before 388 the number of comedies to be presented was increased to five. This arrangement lasted until about 340, when the old usage was reestablished. Probably at the same time the appointment of comic choregi was transferred from the archon to the tribes. The victory, however, continued to belong to the choregus as official representative of the chorus and the tribe.

EDWARD CAPPS.

¹See *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1895, p. 319.

IV.—THE MORE COMPLICATED FIGURES OF COMPARISON IN PLATO.

Plato more than any other ancient writer depends for the explanation of his doctrines upon argument by analogy. This was because he treated so largely of the unseen and intangible. We therefore find his richer than any other Greek prose of the classic age, in the figures of comparison. And besides using such figures for his argument, he also employed them as literary ornament. Consequently they become very numerous in his pages and at the same time often very complicated. It is due to this latter feature that in the eyes of the Greek rhetoricians Plato appeared rapt in a Bacchic frenzy in the use of figures, and showed usages that to them seemed monstrous.

The following pages treat of some of these comparisons which thus seem confused or distorted by the touch of the bewildering god. Those of them which show similar irregularities will be grouped together; the causes of their confusion discussed; and the structure of certain larger groups of comparisons will be explained in detail. The reader may perhaps consider as not final some opinions that are expressed. But he will be indulgent on considering how much our present classifications of the figures of speech are in need of rehabilitation.

I.—*Mixed Comparisons.*

The simplest of these irregular comparisons (and under comparisons are included metaphor, simile and allegory) is the mixed metaphor. It is likewise the most frequent. Although it leaves a rather confused impression on the mind, this impression is often by its very confusion rendered the more brilliant. Mixed metaphor is, in fact, not so much a confusion of pictures as it is a rapid succession of them. Writers of a poetic strain do not avoid it. They may even seek for such a rapid series of pictures, provided that the scenes are not in harsh or disagreeable contrast.

More than two scenes may be confused, and in extreme cases even five or six. Such a mixture occurs in the Republic at 533 *d*, where dialectic 'leads and drags upward the eye of the soul as it lies buried in barbaric filth.' Several more nearly related pictures are found in Ion 533 *e* ff., where poets are inspired by muses, are magnets, are Corybants, are Bacchae, are

bees, are seers. Here, however, both metaphor and simile occur, and the scenes are separated usually by clauses or sentences. In *Timaeus* 81 *c* there is a mixture due to scientific terminology. It reads: 'but when the root of the triangles relaxes, because of its having fought many fights over a long space of time against many: it is no longer able to cut the entering elements of nourishment.' Fewer images occur in *Theaetetus* 179 *d*, where it speaks of 'striking being to see whether its ring is hale or rotten.' The most common cases are where only two images are found, as in *Politicus* 310 *d* with the words ἀκμάζειν and ἐξανθεῖν. Here the two words are the same part of speech and are set side by side as synonyms. In such cases one metaphor is usually more trite than the other, and does not call up in the mind so vivid a picture.

In deciding whether a word is felt as a metaphor, we must consider whether it could be replaced by some simpler and more literal expression. A feeling that a word is rather fine or unusual is a sure proof that the author regards it as metaphorical; or, at least, is consciously borrowing it from some other sphere than that in which he uses it. In the *Timaeus* Plato is forced to employ words in entirely different senses from what they have in the rest of his works. He or perhaps his Ionic predecessors have thus made for themselves a set of scientific terms, not as is done at present by coining new words, but by using old ones in new senses. In the *Timaeus* consequently it is allowable to find mixture of metaphor in the passage translated above and also in this: 85 *e* (χολή) χειμῶνα καὶ τρόμον ἐντὸς παρέχει· πλείων δ' ἐπιρρέουσα, τῇ παρ' αὐτῆς θερμότητι κρατήσασα τὰς ἰνας εἰς ἀταξίαν ζέσασα διέσεισε . . . ἔλυσε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτόθεν οἶον νεὸς πείσματα μεθῆκέ τε ἐλευθέραν. Scientific terms and phrases made of mixed metaphor are not confined to the *Timaeus*, but are scattered through the other dialogues; as, for instance, *Rep.* 546 *c* πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται. The pun upon δίπους (*Politicus* 266 *b*) by suggesting its two meanings, 'biped' and 'second power,' shows that such words were far from being literal even in their technical meanings. Underneath each Greek scientific word there lurked an older meaning that made the scientific and later sense long retain the feeling of a metaphor.

Among the words that introduce the various pictures in a mixed metaphor verbs usually predominate; as in *Rep.* 586 *a* οὔτε ἀνέβλεψαν πώποτε, οὔτε ἠνέχθησαν οὐδὲ τοῦ ὄντος τῷ ὄντι ἐπληρώθησαν οὐδὲ βεβαίουν τε καὶ καθαρὰς ἡδονῆς ἐγεύσαντο. Another case would be *Rep.* 440 *c* ζεῖ τε καὶ χαλεπαίνει καὶ ξυμμαχεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ. Noun-

metaphors are more rare, as in Rep. 614 *a*, where the ἀθάτα τε καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ δῶρα of virtue are mentioned. Other instances of mixed noun-metaphor are found in Lysis 214 *a*, Protag. 343 *a* and Gorgias 503 *a*. The noun-metaphor always seems stronger than the verb-metaphor. On this account several do not need to be united to produce an emphatic or telling effect, but when mixed together they are apt to stand in too harsh a contrast, unless carefully chosen. The adjective and adverb usually form very weak metaphors. Cases of mixture with them are therefore not easily traceable, unless perhaps the adjective is in the form of a participle. Βαθύτερα καὶ πρῶτερα ἦθη of Laws 936 *a* and μὴ ὑγιεῖ ψυχῇ συνοικεῖν ἀλλὰ σαθρῇ are examples of adjective mixture. Rep. 387 *c* and Phaedo 82 *e* may serve as others.

A mixture of metaphor consisting of verb and substantive is a frequent form when different parts of speech are used. Laws 718 *d* πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν, or Republic 470 *d* τροφὸν καὶ μητέρα κείρειν, or Politicus 273 *d* ἔφεδρος αὐτοῦ τῶν πηδαλίων γιγνόμενος τὰ νοσήσαντα καὶ λυθέντα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν προτέρᾳ περιόδῳ στρέψας κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἐπανορθῶν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγήρων ἀπεργάζεται, would be good examples of this. A rather rare case is that where a noun and its qualifying adjective are each a different metaphor, as in βορβόρῳ βαρβαρικῷ of Republic 533 *d*.

The number of strongly mixed metaphors in the dialogues is very nearly as follows:

Phaedo	14	Phaedrus	9	Gorgias	14
Cratylus	6	Alcibiades I	4	Meno	2
Theaetetus	6	Alcibiades II	2	Ion	2
Sophist	9	Charmides	1	Republic	86
Politicus	12	Lysis	3	Timaeus	32
Philebus	8	Euthydemus	2	Critias	1
Symposium	5	Protagoras	6	Laws	55

Mixed metaphor arises from the placing together of several different metaphors. In like manner mixed or compound simile finds its origin. It is produced when the same thing is compared with several others, all at once, by means of a single particle or of some one word of comparison to introduce them. This figure is especially frequent in the Laws. This is probably because that dialogue was not so carefully revised and amplified as the others. Compound simile is thus indicative of great condensation of thought. It has no claim to be an ornamental figure, but belongs naturally in the note-book.

An example of it might be taken from Laws 641 *a*, where the lawgiver is compared at once to the captain, charioteer and general. At 961 *e* ff. he is compared to the captain, general and physician. Again, Laws 902 *d*, *e* the gods are compared to physicians, captains, generals, housekeepers, statesmen, stonemasons. At 905 *e* to 906 *d* they are compared to charioteers, captains, generals, physicians, farmers, shepherds and sheep-dogs; and the same comparison is repeated at 906 *e*, with merely some variations in the order of the persons.

In such cases the subject is really compared in thought with the genus as a whole, but the comparison finds its expression in the enumeration of all the concrete species. If, however, the number of species is few, as in Theaetetus 206 *d* ὥσπερ εἰς κάροπτρον ἢ ὕδωρ; then little or no offence can be taken at this form of simile. The Politicus is peculiar for carrying two of these compound similes as intermittent comparisons. Thus in this dialogue the physician and trainer are combined in a comparison at 267 *e* and also at 295 *c*. The physician and captain are combined at 297 *e* ff. and again at 301 *d*. In several instances in the other dialogues an intermittent comparison is compound at its first occurrence, but becomes simple in all the other occurrences.

The following list contains the compound similes, except those from the Politicus that are mentioned just above:—Crito 53 *a*. Theaetetus 174 *d*, 175 *e*, 206 *d*. Politicus 291 *a*. Theages 122 *e*. Charmides 165 *e*. Lysis 211 *d*. Euthydemus 276 *a*. Protagoras 311 *b* and *e*, 312 *b*, 313 *c*, 316 *d*, 317 *b*, 354 *a*. Gorgias 450 *d*, 455 *b*, 474 *d*, 502 *d*, 503 *e*, 512 *b*. Meno 78 *c*. Hippias 294 *a*. Republic 346 *a*, 360 *e*, 389 *c*, 405 *b*, 525 *c*. Laws 637 *e*, 641 *a*, 643 *b* and *c*, 646 *c*, 644 *e*, 667 *b*, 684 *c*, 691 *c*, 713 *d*, 735 *a*, 739 *c*, 764 *d*, 830 *a*, 840 *d*, 849 *c*, 889 *d*, 902 *d* and *e*, 903 *c*, 905 *e* to 906 *e*, 945 *c*, 961 *e* to 962 *a*, 963 *a*.

If the subject of a mixed metaphor or of a compound simile be taken as a centre, these two forms of comparison might be represented by diagram thus:

$$B \leftarrow A \rightarrow C,$$

in which B and C are two different objects with which A is compared in close succession.

II.—Secondary Comparison.

Secondary simile or metaphor is another kind of complication. It usually arises within some longer illustration or comparison, so that, figuratively speaking, it is a picture within a picture. More

abstractly, it is a case where A is compared with B, and then, to illustrate B, it is compared with C; or by diagram:

$$A \Rightarrow B \Rightarrow C.$$

Thus in Republic 495 *e* the ordinary man, in his attitude toward philosophy, is like a little bald tinker dressed up *like a bridegroom* about to marry his master's daughter. Secondary comparison is, however, most distinctly to be recognized when the comparison of A to B, which preceded that of B to C, reappears after it also. Both stages of the comparison must then have been in the writer's mind at the same time. When one succeeds the other, and especially when it follows it at some distance, this is far more doubtful; for the first may have been quite forgotten by the time the second comparison arrives.

Secondary similes are most often attached to intermittent comparisons. The great length and extent of these latter favor the addition of subordinate illustration. Thus at Theaetetus 193 *c* the soul is being compared to a block of wax. Then by subordinate comparison this wax-block has *tracks* imprinted in it into which a person may not on first trial be able to fit what he sees *like people trying on the wrong shoe, or like the mirror, that changes right to left*. Also at 194 *e* the same waxen block is *κοπρῶδες* and *λιθῶδες* by two more secondary similes. In the Politicus at 268 *a* the statesman is compared to a herdsman, and then within this comparison the herdsman is compared at once with a *τροφός*, an *ιατρός* and a *νυμφευτής*. This seems to be the only case of a compound secondary simile.

In the Republic, at the beginning of the seventh book, the well-known comparison of the cave is made use of. At 514 *b* this cave is furthermore *compared to a puppet show*, and at 515 *c* the prisoner in the cave is *cured* of his bonds. In this case we consequently have a secondary simile and also a secondary metaphor. Other cases of this sort of secondary metaphor would be Republic 329 *c* αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγόν, Republic 531 *a*, where persons listening to the music of the spheres are οἷον ἐκ γειτόνων φωνῇ θηρευόμενοι, Laws 793 *c* οἷον τεκτόνων ἐν οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐρείσματα ἐκ μέσου ὑπορρέοντα συμπίπτειν εἰς ταῦτόν ποιεῖ τὰ ξύμπαντα, and Phaedrus 275 *d*, where the written discourse is like the art of painting, whose *offspring stand as though alive*.

These are all cases where the secondary comparison follows simile or allegory, but it is probable that secondary transfer may

be effected by one of two adjacent metaphors. This peculiarity is hard to separate at times from mixed metaphor, inasmuch as the two differ in origin rather than in present use. The first transfer usually has its origin in some colloquial or proverbial expression. This is afterward improved and made literary by being given a second transfer. Examples of this are Republic 591 *e*, or better 573 *d*, where the tyrant in a person's soul rules and *captains* him; and Philebus 28 *c, d*, where *vous* is a king whose duty is to rule and *captain*. Here, then, are three cases where the figure of the ship used once to explain the state is used over again as a figure in explaining Plato's psychology. The sentence, *ἡ ἐμὴ ψῆφος νικᾷ*, would also be an instance of this double transfer. Here the transfers are from wish to voting pebble and from voting pebble to soldier or other kind of combatant. The single transfer is common in Plato in such phrases as *τὴν ἂν ψῆφον θεῖο* of Protag. 330 *c*. Had the former sentence been a case of mixed metaphor, the transfers would have been from wish to voting pebble and from wish to soldier. This, however, would seem a less natural method, although the result is the same in either case.

Another instance of this double transfer is the famous simile of Laws 773 *d*, criticised by the Pseudo-Longinus (32). In it the "city is like a mixing-bowl whose *mad* wine boils after it has been poured in, but is restrained by another *sober* god." Here the two elements in the bowl are by metaphor (or metonymy) identified with the gods of sobriety and intoxication. Again, by secondary transfer in the Phaedrus (241 *δ*) a lover becomes a *φυγὰς ὁστράκου μεταπεσόντος*. In Laws 690 *d* the participants in the discussion say *στάσεων πηγὴν τινα ἀνευρήκαμεν ἣν δεῖ σε θεραπεύειν*. In this instance *πηγή*, from being a topographical word, has become physiological and then political. Also in Laws 717 *c* the expression "words light and winged but of most heavy consequence" is thus probably a case of double transfer, the second image (the wings) being suggested by the first, and not arising independently from the same source.

A peculiar use of secondary transfer by means of metaphor is one which involves the use of the same word twice, but each time in a new sense. By this means a sort of forced pun is constructed. Thus, for instance, *στάσις*, a 'revolution' or 'dissension' in the state, comes by one transfer in Sophist 228 *a* to mean bodily disease, as in the question *νόσον ἴσως καὶ στάσιν οὐ ταῦτόν νερόμικας*; and then immediately by a second transfer at 228 *δ* to mean some

fault of the soul, like injustice. The latter sentence is *στάσιν ἄρα καὶ νόσον τῆς ψυχῆς πονηρίαν λέγοντες ὁρθῶς ἐροῦμεν*. Of course a word is frequently used in different transferred senses in discussing different subjects or in widely separated passages. But the contrast of two transferred meanings in the same passage, as is effected here, is quite rare. A contrast of original and transferred meaning is more common. By its means most of the puns are effected; as, for instance, those on the double meanings of *τόκος* and *νόμος*, each of which occurs several times in Plato.

Secondary Comparison by Conversion.

The cases of secondary transfer thus far discussed have involved three different objects; but secondary transfer may also concern only two by a doubling back of the line of metaphor upon itself. This is occasioned for simile when this simile incloses within itself another simile or a metaphor that is its converse. This could be shown by diagram thus:



Here A is first compared with B and then B compared with A. Such cases are necessarily rare in careful writing. They probably all arise either from inaccurate thought or poverty of expression and they cause a sort of circle of analogy. It may, however, happen that B cannot be described without borrowing words from A. In so far it would be excusable; but, of course, B so described can prove nothing in regard to A. This latter case arises in the *Laws* and *Timaeus*, when, in the comparison of man to God, God is described in terms of man.

As an instance of the conversion of a comparison we may take *Laws* 840 d. Here men are compared to birds, and then within this comparison metaphors are used which represent the birds as men (*ἡῖθεοι, γάμων, ἀγνοί*). In *Laws* 720 c and 722 a occurs a case of rather more indirect conversion. The unworthy lawgiver is compared to a physician who treats slaves, and then within this passage the slave-doctor is compared to a tyrant. Most of the conversions are found, however, in certain large groups or systems of intermittent comparison, where, from their great length, confusion in the figures may the more easily arise. These cases will be discussed further on under the head of 'Argument by Analogy.'

A figure and its converse may of course have arisen separately when they are quite distant from each other in the text. There

is then no confusion or doubling in the thought. Thus by an intermittent comparison beginning at 722 *d* in the Laws and ending at 932 *a*, the preamble of a law is called its prelude and the law itself an ode. In Laws 700 *b* and 800 *b*, by the exact converse of this figure a strain of music is called a law. Yet the two figures being used in the discussion of different subjects, are not confused with each other. The one is merely by accident the converse of the other, without any double transfer having taken place.

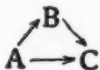
Metaphor is also subject to conversion just as simile. But as with secondary transfer of metaphor, so also here the occurrence of this converted metaphor is much more difficult to detect than its corresponding kind of simile. It needs a careful comparison of the usage in the author and in the language. Usually one of the transfers is, as before, literary and the other is popular. An example occurs in Republic 520 *b*, or better in Politicus 301 *e*, where a certain sort of ruler is called a "king such as grows in hives, solitary, pre-eminent alike in soul and body." This figure shows the return of that transfer which called the largest bee in the hive a 'king.' The hive was first compared to the state by those who used the term βασιλεύς for queen bee, and then in this passage, as often elsewhere in Plato, the state is compared to the hive. This term 'king' is thus brought back to the very place from whence it came. Another case is the 'laughing wave' (ὥσπερ κύμα ἐκγελῶν) that Socrates fears will overwhelm him with scorn and disrepute in Republic 473 *c*. It is now the wave of laughter, but is probably derived from a laughter of the wave, an ἀνίριθμον γέλασμα, that preceded it, and of which it is possibly a parody. The phrase 'conquer oneself' is very often used in Plato. It is a very primitive form of the comparison of soul to state or of passions to warring factions. When, however, in Laws 627 *a* the city is spoken of as ruling or conquering itself, this figure seems also to have returned to where it started. It has gone from city to man and then from man to city.

The effect of conversion is also produced when a literal word stands in close grammatical relation to one of the figurative words of a simile or metaphor. It produces a confusion not of two different pictures, as in the case of the mixed or secondary metaphor, but of the picture and of the real life. Its illogical character and inconsistency produce a sort of shock, as in Sophist 266 *c*, where a painting is called a "man-made dream for men that are awake" (οἷον ὄναρ ἀνθρώπων ἐγρηγορόσιν). Another case would be Republic 535 *e* ἀνάπηρον ψυχὴν, Phaedrus 243 *d* ποτίμω

λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι, Alcib. I 135 *e* παρὰ σοὶ ἐννεο-
τεύσας ἔρωτα ὑπόπτερον, and possibly Republic 473 *c*, explained just
above as a conversion of metaphor. The *μαινόμενος οἶνος* of the
simile of Laws 773 *d* also contains this feeling of a mixture of
literal and metaphorical words, especially as it is immediately
followed by the more regular metaphor *νήφοντος ἐτέρου θεοῦ*. These
cases are all of noun and adjective mixture. Less forcible are the
mixtures formed of a noun and of its genitive of material or
possession. An example of this would be Republic 569 *b* *φείγων*
ἂν καπνὸν δουλείας ἐλευθέρων, εἰς πῦρ δούλων δεσποτείας ἂν ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἴη.
Other cases would be Republic 566 *d* *ἐν τῷ δίφῳ τῆς πόλεως*,
Philebus 15 *e* *ἡσθεὶς ὥς τινα σοφίας εὐρηκὼς θησαυρόν*, Republic 552 *c*
νόσημα πόλεως, Sophist 222 *a*, where the sophist is a hunter, *ἐπὶ γῆν*
καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐτέρους αὐτίναν πλούτου καὶ νεότητος οἶον λειμῶνας ἀφθόνους.
With such cases as these we may compare the Psalmist's (105,
16): "He brake the whole staff of bread," or the passage where
Euripides calls Cithaeron "the snow-nourishing eye of Artemis"
(Phoen. 803). When the grammatical relation of literal and
figurative word is less close than in the examples given above,
this feeling of contradiction dies out. It is entirely absent when
they are in different sentences or clauses, or when one is in the
subject and the other in the predicate portion of a sentence.

III.—Argument by Analogy.

A combination of comparisons rather easier to unravel than the
last few varieties of transfer is the argument by analogy. It
arises when any object is compared with another by secondary
and also by simple comparison. It would be represented graph-
ically thus:



and it forms a real analogical argument. Thus A is like B, then
B like C, and finally A like C.

A very simple instance of such an argument by analogy is
found in Republic 509 *a-d* ff. In this system truth is compared
to the sun, the sun to a king, and finally the truth to a king. The
scheme of the three figures might be arranged thus:

Truth, the sun (509 *a-d*).

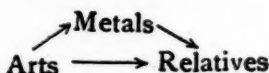
Truth, a king (597 *e*). | Sun, a king (509 *d*-516 *b*).

Usually such systems are of considerable extent, and some or all

of their members are intermittent, and have their parts widely separated. In such cases the comparison of B to C usually comes within that of A to B, or at least begins before the latter terminates.

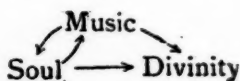
An equally simple system occurs in the *Politicus*. Here the comparison of A to C comes first and also outlasts the other two. An intermittent comparison may thus during part of its course help to form an analogical syllogism. In other parts of its course this purpose may be lost sight of, and it may then be used as mere ornament, or to supply some trite or convenient metaphor. The arrangement of the three figures in the system just explained is thus as follows:

Arts are metals (303 *de*).
Arts are akin (258 *d*–303 *e*). | Metals are akin (303 *e*).



In the *Phaedo* one of these systems contains the added complexity of converting its main comparison. In it the soul and body of man are compared to the music and chords of a lyre, and then by conversion the lyre is immediately compared to a man (85 *e*–86 *c*). By a second transfer music is now said to be divine, and hence by single transfer soul can be said to be divine. The main comparison (that of a man to a lyre) is distinct and considerably extended in the *Phaedo*, and occupies a more prominent place in this dialogue than did in their dialogues either of the main comparisons in the two systems previously considered. The scheme of this system in the *Phaedo*, arranged symmetrically, would be:

Man a lyre (85 *e*–95 *a*).
[Converted into lyre a man at 85 *e*–86 *c*.]
Soul, divine; but the body mortal (80 *a*–95 *c*). | Music, divine; but the instrument mortal (86 *a*–*c*).



We come now to a much larger system of this sort of analogical reasoning contained in the *Republic*. Its main comparison—that of the soul to the state—pervades the whole dialogue as a framework. It is thus by no means mere ornament, but comes to form a very extensive, oft-reiterated and essential part of Plato's thought. In the group of comparisons that illustrate

this chief proposition (Soul = State), the state is successively compared with the human body, a sheepfold, a harmony, a ship, a wild animal, a bird's-nest, a hive, a many-colored shawl, and the argument is closed by comparing the soul in turn with each of these. All but five of these seventeen comparisons are intermittent, and some of them practically run the entire length of the dialogue. Some also are so commonplace and so useful outside of the system that, although they should be logically used last, they come to stand first in point of fact. The order of the propositions is consequently open to variation, but in all cases the soul is the first term and the state the middle term of the analogical syllogism that they form.

If we trace, for example, the comparison of the soul to the body, we shall find that various forms of this comparison are prevalent throughout Plato. It is in fact a well-established part of the language of his psychology. This figure is consequently not held back until the comparison of the state to the body may be begun. On the contrary, it begins before the latter, runs part of its course parallel with it, and outlasts it. In the list given below of the occurrences of the two figures in the Republic, the figure of the body politic has its occurrences in the even and paragraphed lines, the other figure—the comparison of the soul to the body—has its occurrences in the lines which are joined by the curved strokes.

- (352 *b*, 354 *a-b*, 358 *e*.
- 372 *e*-373 *b*.
- (380 *e*.
- 382 *c*, 389 *b-c*.
- (391 *c*.
- 399 *e*.
- (401 *c*, 409 *a*-410 *a*, 411 *d*.
- 425 *e*, 426 *d*.
- (444 *c-e*, 458 *a*.
- 459 *c-d*, 462 *c*, 464 *b*, 470 *d*.
- (475 *c*.
- 489 *b*.
- (490 *c*, 495 *d*-496 *c*.
- 496 *c*.
- (498 *b*, 503 *e*, 518 *d*, 523 *b*, 526 *b*, 535 *b*, 539 *b*.
- 544 *d*, 552 *c*, 556 *e*, 562 *c*-564 *b*, 567 *c*.
- (576 *a*, 579 *c*, 582 *b-c*, 586 *a*, 592 *a*, 595 *b*, 605 *c*, 608 *e*, 609 *c*-611 *c*.

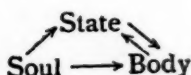
In such an extended and intertwined pair of figures it is impossible to be sure which came first in Plato's estimation. But we at least know that the middle term is the state and the first term the soul, whenever the two figures are thought of as forming a syllogism or as proving anything when taken in conjunction.

The comparison of the state to a sheepfold begins, as it should, before the comparison of the soul to a sheepfold, and also outlasts it. The soul-harmony is a very common figure in Plato, and so quite evidently leads up to the state-harmony and suggests it. Consequently the usual order is here reversed. On the other hand, the ship-of-state figure naturally precedes the ship of the soul, as it is so much more familiar. The reverse is true of the figure which represents the state as a wild animal. This follows at some distance the figure where the soul is regarded as a wild animal. The smaller figures at the end of the list are all less familiar. They therefore begin, as they logically should, on the state side. Thus the state a bird's-nest begins before the soul a bird's-nest; the state a hive comes before the soul a hive, and the state a himation precedes the soul a himation. The scheme can thus be symmetrically arranged for this system:

Soul compared to state (329 c-608 d).			
Soul a	human body (352 b-611 c).	State a	human body (372 c-567 c).
	sheepfold (440 d).		sheepfold (375 a-539 b).
	harmony (401 d-591 d).		harmony (430 c-432 a).
	ship (573 d-591 e).		ship (389 c-551 c).
	wild animal (410 d-606 a).		wild animal (493 b).
	bird's-nest (573 e).		bird's-nest (548 a).
	hive (573 a-577 e).		hive (520 b-567 d).
	himation (561 e).		himation (557 c-558 c).

Several cases of conversion and of further transfers are not shown in this scheme of the figures as given above. They may, however, be explained separately here:

I.—At 444 d a comparison of the human body to the state is inclosed within a part of the comparison of the soul to a human body. It consists of the metaphors *κρατεῖν*, *κρατεῖσθαι*, *ἄρχειν* and *ἄρχεσθαι*. There thus arise at this point of the system two cases of secondary transfer. As, however, there are only three objects involved—the soul, the state, the body—one of the transfers necessarily is the converse of the other. This may be shown by the following diagram:



II.—At 462 *c* the comparison of the state to the human body is immediately converted within itself. This consequently gives rise to a tertiary transfer. It is not, however, a very important figure, as it consists of the single metaphor *ἀρχοντος*. The terms are the same as in the former diagram. The curved arrows serve to show that the converting figure is within the converted one and not outside of it as in I.

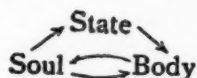


III.—At 520 *b* the comparison of the state to a hive is converted in the manner described several paragraphs above, and at 552 *c*, 556 *a* and 564 *c* it is carried a step further by comparing the hive to a human body. In other words, evil passions are compared to evil citizens, evil citizens to drones, and drones to diseases. There are thus two tertiary comparisons connected with this hive comparison, one of which doubles back on itself and the other is carried straight onward. These two tertiary comparisons have a secondary transfer and some single transfers combined with them so as to allow of several conclusions being drawn from them thus:



IV.—At 567 the state is compared by secondary transfer with a chariot; but from this no soul-chariot is deduced, so that the figure remains merely ornamental.

V.—At 609 *c* by the metaphor *πονηρία* the comparison of soul to human body is converted within itself. Two cases of secondary transfer are thus formed. One of these moves its two steps forward, while the other advances one step to meet it and then immediately turns back on itself. The scheme would be like this:



In the *Laws* the system that we have just discussed in the *Republic* is repeated. It possesses, however, much less variety than before, as will be seen from the symmetrical grouping of its members:

Soul a state (626 *d*-934 *a*).

Soul a human body (626 *b*-958 *a*). State a human body (628 *a*-969 *b*).

Soul a wild animal (657 *d*-953 *e*). State a wild animal (951 *b*).

As in the case of the same two figures in the Republic, so here Plato allows the metaphors that belong to the 'less' or left-hand side to appear first. This is because they are very trite and at the same time useful; so that it is not convenient to avoid using them, until the metaphors from the right-hand side have been begun. The theory of the microcosm had, moreover, already been proved for the elaborate tripartite soul of the Republic, so that it did not need to be proved again for the much simpler bipartite soul of the Laws. In fact this system, as found in the Laws, is a simple correlation of soul and state, with little or no power as a part of the argument.

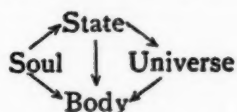
At 720 *c* and 722 *e* the comparison of the state to a human body is converted. This is the first case where an intermittent comparison contains a converse that is also intermittent. These two occurrences were discussed above in the paragraph on simple conversion, so that they do not need to be re-explained here. The diagram would be the same as that used for Republic (II) 462 *c*.

Besides the soul-state system, the Laws also contains a state-universe system of a much more definite and varied character. That this latter system is founded on a comparison of the state to the universe is evidently Plato's opinion at 713 *a*, and in the long series of metaphors scattered from 630 *e* to 969 *b*, in all of which the work of the lawgiver is regarded as god-like and divine. Taken in this way the system suits another system in the Politicus where the lawgiver is also compared to God. It is also Plato's design usually to have the less imaged in the greater, and not the greater in the less. Yet, notwithstanding this fact, it seems as though at 892 *a*-905 *e* God was compared with the lawgiver by the exact converse of this figure. Probably, however, in such a long dialogue as the Laws the point of view varies somewhat according to the subject under discussion. Provisionally the former figure is adopted here, so as to bring the Laws into line with the Timaeus and Politicus.

The simile which represents God as a workman (*δημιουργός*) at 902 *e* is specialized into various kinds of workmen, architects, masons and others, when found on the state side of the system. Yet a comparison with similar figures in the Politicus and Timaeus

shows that a correlation is to be expected here in the Laws, although it is much less perfectly expressed.

The comparison of the state to a human body or the lawgiver to a physician plays a part in the state-universe system as well as in the soul-state system. There thus arises a combination of a single, a secondary and a tertiary comparison that may be represented as follows by separate diagram :



The complete system of the state-universe is as follows :

State a Universe, or lawgiver a God (630 *e*-969 *b*).

[Converted into God a lawgiver at 892 *a*-905 *e*.]

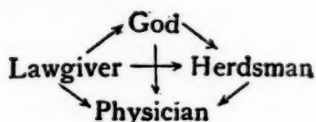
State a human body, lawgiver a physician (628 <i>a</i> -969 <i>b</i>).	Universe a human body, Gods its physicians (896 <i>d</i> -967 <i>d</i>).
State a ship, lawgiver a captain (639 <i>b</i> -963 <i>a</i>).	Universe a ship, the Gods its captains (709 <i>b</i> -906 <i>d</i>).
Lawgiver a general (641 <i>a</i> -963 <i>a</i>).	Gods are generals (902 <i>d</i> -907 <i>a</i>).
Lawgiver a charioteer (692 <i>a</i> -708 <i>d</i>).	Gods are charioteers (905 <i>e</i> -906 <i>e</i>).
Lawgiver a herdsman (735 <i>a</i>).	Gods are shepherds or herdsmen (713 <i>d</i> -907 <i>a</i>).
Lawgiver a workman (736 <i>e</i> -945 <i>e</i>).	Gods are workmen (902 <i>e</i>).

As in the former system in the Laws and to some extent in the Republic, so here the order of the comparisons, logically speaking, is rather varied. The Universe is, however, certainly the middle term, and the conclusion is generally the second proposition to be stated rather than the third. The argument is consequently not a very important one, since the natural order of the propositions is so often violated. In fact the comparisons form a loose correlation rather than a logical syllogism.

The main comparison in this system, as was noticed above, is converted at 892 *a*-905 *e*. It is doubtful whether the main comparison, in fact, belongs to this part of the dialogue, and does not rather give place here to its converse. The question for the whole dialogue is mostly determined by the prevalent notion in the Laws that the lawgiver is divinely inspired and that the law is a work of God.

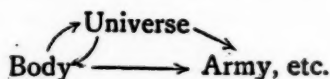
At 735 *a*, within the comparison of the lawgiver to the herdsman, occur the metaphors *καθαρμόν*, *καθάρη* and *διακαθαίρηται*. These evidently indicate a transfer from the herdsman to the physician.

There thus result two cases of secondary transfer, one of tertiary and one simple transfer thus :



In the *Timaeus* there is another case of a very widely extended system of comparisons. This system is based upon a figure that compares the human body to the universe. It occupies in this dialogue an even more important place than do in the *Laws* either of its systems or the microcosm in the *Republic*. Just as there was in the *Republic* an example of the true state in the heavens, so in the *Timaeus* there is an example of the ideal man there. The philosopher or creator, as the case may be, fixes his eye ever on the ideal as he copies it out in his construction or description of the real. This thought prevails in both dialogues: this desire for the realization of the divine *παράδειγμα* (*Rep.* 500 *e*, *Tim.* 28 *ab*) that can be seen only by the eye of the soul.

In the *Timaeus* God first copies the knowable and thus produces a visible universe. This is then recopied into the celestial bodies known to astronomy and the terrestrial bodies known to natural history. In this way man comes to be like the universe by being a copy of it. And in this way arises that comparison of man to the universe that runs through the *Timaeus*. It is thus strictly in accordance with Platonic doctrine that the less should be understood by being seen through the greater. As the soul is understood by comparison with the state in the *Republic*, so is man to be understood by comparing him with the universe in the *Timaeus*. Yet as the 'greater' object, or in other words the universe, has hardly any language by which it can be described, unless it borrows it from other sources, this first comparison is immediately converted by metaphors in which the universe becomes tacitly compared to man. Taking any one of the analogical arguments, the diagram would be as follows:



Except for this single set of conversions, the subordinate figures in this system of the *Timaeus* are extremely regular. Those that should logically stand first or last do so in fact. For the *Timaeus*

is pre-eminent among Platonic dialogues for its logical unity of plan. Some of the subordinate figures are in several cases composed of very faint metaphors. For this reason it may happen that some of the fainter ones have been omitted from the list of correspondences given below. The more important ones are, however, the following:

Human body is like the universe (28 a-92 b).	
[Converted into universe a human body (28 b-92 b).]	
Body sown with its component parts (70 c-91 d).	Universe is sown with its component parts (23 c-56 b).
Elements of body in military order (45 b-88 c).	Elements of universe in military order (30 a-53 b).
Elements of body are bound together (43 a-85 c).	Elements of universe are bound together (31 c-41 b).
Body turned on a lathe (69 c-73 c).	Universe turned on a lathe (33 b).
Body a city or house (44 d-91 c).	Universe a city (34 c-48 a).
Body a woven fabric (72 c-79 d).	Universe a woven fabric (36 c-41 d).
Human soul is divine (44 d-90 d).	Universal soul is divine (36 c-41 c).
Body a chariot (44 c-87 d).	Universe a chariot (41 c).
Elements of body do battle (81 c-88 c).	Elements of universe do battle (56 c-62 b).

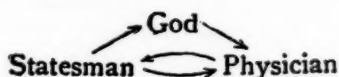
Finally, there is in the *Politicus*, besides the short system previously discussed, another which is identical with the larger system in the *Laws*. Like the latter, it consists of a number of primary and secondary transfers grouped about the comparison of the statesman to God. These subordinate figures do not, however, extend over so much of the dialogue, or play so important a part in it, as do the state-universe and man-universe systems in the *Laws* and the *Timaeus*. The arrangement of the figures is as follows:

Statesman compared to God (myth 268 d-276 d).	
[Converted into God compared to statesman at 271 d-272 c.]	
Statesman a {	God a {
physician (259 a-301 d).	physician (269 d-274 a).
builder (259 c-308 c).	builder (270 a-273 b).
herdsman (261 d-295 c).	herdsman (271 d-276 d).
captain (296 c-304 a).	captain (272 c).

In the *Politicus* God and the universe are not represented as a *παράδειγμα* of anything, but are described in the form of an allegory or 'fable told to children' (268 c). This is, moreover, effected in a way that does not convert the main figure as often as in the *Laws* and *Timaeus*, but only at 271 d ἡρχεν, ἀρχόντων, and 272 c συνάρχοντες.

At 268 *a*, within the comparison of the statesman to the herdsman the herdsman is compared to the physician, nurse and others, as was explained above in the paragraph on secondary transfer. The terms involved are the same as those in Laws at 735 *a*.

At 295 *d*–298 *a* the comparison of the statesman to a physician is converted, and the physician appears as a statesman. There are consequently formed here two cases of secondary transfer, one of which is converted and the other not. The arrangement and order of the comparisons is as follows:



At 297 *a*–298 *b*, by another intermittent figure, the captain appears as a statesman. The metaphors used are νόμον (297 *a*) and ἀρχεω, ἀντοκράτορι (298 *b*). The arrangement is the same as in the case just considered, except for the substitution of the term captain for physician.

We have already gone over two different classes of comparisons, the mixed and the secondary, together with a variety of the latter produced by conversion. A third group, as we now see, is formed by variously combining examples of the second class with each other or with simple comparison. The result is the analogical argument. Of this two instances each were found in the Republic, Laws and Politicus; and one apiece in the Phaedo and Timaeus. Probably there are in Plato other less important ones; but they are certainly of much smaller size and fainter figurative power. Two of the analogical arguments examined above are of such importance that even the largest dialogues do not exhaust them. The comparison of the soul to the state forms the dominant theme of the Republic, and reappears in the Laws. The parallelism between the statesman and God pervades the Laws and the Politicus and, in a modified form, runs through the Timaeus from its beginning to its end.

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V.—NOTES ON THE HISTORICAL SYNTAX OF *QUAMVIS*.

The particle *quamvis*, composed of *quam* + *vis*, 'how you please,' 'as much as you please,' 'however much,' (cf. also *quam vultis*, *quam vellet*, *quam volent*, and the stronger form *quantum vis*), appears first as an adverb. From this starting-point it proceeds in a steady development toward the conjunction, the path of its transition to its use with the subordinate verb being through the adjectives, adverbs, and phrases which it modifies as adverb. In tracing this development and the further history of *quamvis* as a conjunction, the usual divisions of Roman literature have been used as being the most convenient boundary posts.

I. *Pre-Ciceronian Period*.—Before the time of Cicero the original adverbial use prevails almost exclusively. In the few cases where *q.* can be said to have the force of a conjunction it has the present subjunctive, never the indicative. With the exception of an uncertain passage in Marcius Vates (cf. Baehrens, *F. P. R.*, p. 36; Festus, ed. Müller, p. 165; Holtze, *Syntaxis Priscorum Scriptorum Latinorum*, II, p. 311) it appears first in Plautus, who uses it as pure adverb with adjectives or adverbs ten times, and twice with the subjunctive in a subordinate clause. But in the latter cases *q.* has no influence in determining the mood. For example in *Bacch.* 82, *q. subito venias*, it has attached itself to the volitive subjunctive *venias* through the medium of the modified adverb *subito* and so made a subordinate clause of concession. This is the first stage of the transition. The second stage, i. e. the dropping of the adjective or adverb as go-between, thus leaving *q.* as pure conjunction, did not take place until the time of Varro. The only other examples of the use of *q.* with a verb (subjunctive) during this period are Cato, *de Agricult.* 1, 6, and Cornificius, *Rhet. ad Her.* 4, 46, 59. It is used as adverb once in Cato, twice in Lucilius and four times in Cornificius *ad Her.*

II. *Ciceronian Period*.—Here the use of *q.* as adverb is still in force, but the most common construction is with the subjunctive. This tendency is probably due to the influence of Cicero. The indicative with *q.* appears for the first time, and occasionally *q.* is used in a clause independently of a verb. In Varro, de l. l. 9, 56, *q. res natura subsit*, for the first time the subjunctive is used without an adverb or adjective to receive the adverbial force of *q.* Varro also seems to afford the first instance of *q.* with the indicative, de r. r. 8, 33 (Müller).¹ In any case the early employment of this construction side by side with the subjunctive goes to show that *in itself q.* had no mood-force.

Cicero, in the great majority of cases, uses the subjunctive, usually in the present tense. The quantitative force of *q.*, however, is commonly to be seen. It is with Cicero that there begins the use of *q.* with adjectives and phrases, even with ablatives absolute, in verbless clauses, due partly to the simple omission of the verb; partly to the extension of the original adverbial force of the particle. This usage finally extends itself even to participles. Outside of Cicero it appears but twice in this period, Varro, de r. r. 1, 4, 3, and Pub. Syri Sententiae 501 (Ribbeck). Cicero probably did not use the indicative with *q.* The only passage for which there is any authority is very doubtful, pro Rab. Post. 2, 4.²

Q. with the superlative of adjectives (e. g. de Or. 3, 103), and *quamvis licet* with the subjunctive (e. g. N. D. 3, 36, 88), are constructions that are met with first in Cicero. The former occurs frequently afterwards, especially in writers of the Silver Age.³

The other prose writers of this period are very sparing in their use of *q.* Caesar and Sallust employ it exclusively as an adverb, the former once (B. G. 4, 2), and the latter twice (Cat. 23, 6. Hist. Frag. 3, 48, 20). There is a tendency to connect *q.* with

¹So also H. Reiter, Quaestiones Varronianae, Regimontii, 1882; Schmalz, Lat. Syntax in Iw. Müller's Handbuch. Cf., however, Klusmann, Tulliana, p. 16, Gera, 1877, and Kühner, Lat. Gram. II, p. 958, who states that the ind. first appears in Nepos, 1, 2, 3.

²So Halm, Klotz, Baiter, Kühner, Klusmann, Nipperdey, Ten Brink, Schmalz, Reisig. The ind. is admitted by Draeger, Georges, Riemann, Kennedy.

³For *quamvis licet*, cf. Lucr. 6, 601, 620; Heindorf on Cic. N. D. 3, 36, 88; Hand, Turs. 3, 543.

the indicative, e. g. Nepos, Mil. 2, 3;¹ Lucr. 3, 403. 4, 426; Dirae, 102; Vatinius, as quoted by Quintilian 6, 3, 60, q. reus sum.²

The subjunctive, however, remains the favorite construction. Catullus does not use the indicative with *q.* at all.

III. *Period of Augustus.*—The adverbial use shows a marked falling off. The subjunctive still remains the most usual construction, while the use with the indicative, which formed only about five per cent. of all the cases in the Ciceronian period, now forms over thirty per cent. This increase is due exclusively to the poets. The subjunctive is still preferred by Vergil, who has the indicative but twice (Ecl. 3, 84; Aen. 5, 542), Tibullus, Propertius, Hyginus, Vitruvius, and especially by Seneca the elder. On the other hand, Horace has the indicative with *q.* nearly twice as frequently as the subjunctive, and Ovid, who uses *q.* almost as often as Cicero and Seneca the younger, has a decided fondness for this construction. The *Astronomica* of Manilius shows the indicative in two places, 2, 313 and 398. The only example in the prose of this period of *q.* with the indicative is in Livy 2, 40, 7.³ He does not use the subjunctive with *q.* at all; but the adverbial use is more strongly represented in him than in any other writer of this period.

In Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen über lat. Sprachwissenschaft*, §467, the statement is made that, in good prose, the indicative with *q.* is used only in such a way that the force of *q.* is equally divided, on the one side joining itself to the verb in the sense of a simple *si* or *cum*, and on the other side strengthening an adjacent adjective. This is true so far as this passage in Livy is concerned, *q. infesto animo—perveneras*; but as a general statement it is wrong. *Quamvis* is often used in good prose writers without divided force, e. g. Varro, de r. r. 8, 33; Nep. Mil. 2, 3; Sen. de Brev. Vit. 6, 4, de Ben. 3, 32, 5; Col. 7, 3, 4. 6, 24, 4. 12, 18. Moreover, this divided force does not appear with the indica-

¹Cf. Gerber, *De conj. temporis et de conj. concess. usu Taciteo* (Glückstadt, Program, 1874), fin.: "Errorem Haasei ad Reisig §305 a, p. 467, corrigere velim, qui dicit 'Nicht aus der Cic. Zeit kann der Ausdruck Nep. Mil. 2, 3 sein, denn so reden nur spätere wie Tacitus.'"

²Cf. Reisig-Haase, *Vorlesungen über lat. Sprachwissenschaft*, §467; Schmalz, *Ueber die Latinität des P. Vatinius* (Mannheim, Prog., 1881).

³The indicative in this doubtful passage is now pretty generally accepted. So Schmalz, Kühnast, Kühner, Weissenborn and Müller, Riemann, Sjöstrand (*Quibus temporibus modisque quamvis, etc., utantur*).

tive only, but, as has been pointed out, *q.* was used in this way originally with the subjunctive, and was constantly so used. Cf. Verg. Georg. 3, 387; Aen. 8, 379; Corn. Gall. Eleg. 67; Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 113; Tib. 4, 1, 181; Vitruv. 1, 4, 3.

IV. *First Century A. D.*—The main characteristics are the relative increase of the subjunctive with *q.*, which forms nearly sixty per cent. of all the instances, and such a marked falling off in the use of the indicative that it is employed only one-seventh as frequently as the subjunctive. Of the instances with the indicative eighty-five per cent. are in prose. The influence of Seneca is easily to be seen in this. Although he uses *q.* more often than any other writer up to this time (in 199 instances, including 12 in the tragedies), the indicative appears but four times, and the subjunctive is used nearly five times as frequently as all other constructions together. Quintilian preserves nearly the same proportion. Of those writers who employ *q.* at all, the indicative is never used by Rutilius Lupus, Germanicus, Phaedrus, Curtius Rufus, Scribonius Largus, Asconius, Pomponius Mela, Persius, Calpurnius Siculus, Martial, Juvenal, Tacitus, the younger Pliny and Caper. The marked retrogression in the indicative usage is still further shown by the fact that Celsus is the only writer of this century who uses the indicative more frequently than the subjunctive.¹

In Curtius Rufus the particle appears but once and then independently (5, 4, 12). Columella, who, next to Seneca, has *q.* most frequently in this period, has the indicative in only 10 out of 103 instances. Persius employs it twice, once with the subjunctive (2, 40) and once independently (5, 70). Tacitus has the subjunctive to some extent, but in him is most marked the tendency to the independent usage.

V. *Second—Seventh Centuries.*—In the maze of degenerating Latin of these six centuries it is difficult to trace the various changes in connection with our subject. One thing, however, stands out clearly, i. e. that the subjunctive with *q.* is still by far the preponderating construction, and that the indicative is used only with comparative rareness. Of the nearly nine hundred examples at my command, covering largely the important ground in this period, seventy per cent. show the subjunctive and less

¹Cf. Bralén, de Elocutione A. Cornelii Celsi, 1872.

than thirteen per cent. the indicative. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* never use the latter construction.

It is evident, therefore, that the usage of the Latin is overwhelmingly in favor of the subjunctive in connection with *quamvis*, even when allowance is made for the comparatively few cases where the mood is due to some other cause like indirect discourse or attraction. The present is used in considerably more than one-half of all these subjunctive instances, a predominance which may be explained on the ground of the influence of the present tense in the second half of the compound. (See Kühner, *Lat. Gram.* II, p. 958.)¹

Draeger is wrong in saying (*Hist. Syntax*, §566, 1) that the subjunctive in clauses with *q.* denotes, as a rule, a subjective supposition, and that not until the Silver Age did it begin to denote a fact as such. The fact is that as a rule the subjunctive in these cases simply denotes that the *degree* of the statement is left to the judgment, while in the indicative the degree is treated as a part of the fact itself.² In this way the subjunctive may denote fact as well as the indicative, and we so find it from the very first. Cf. Varro, *r. r.* 1, 2, 23, *quae tamen q. sint structuosae, nihilo magis sunt agriculturae partes*. So Cicero frequently uses a parenthetical clause, *ut est, sicut est*, etc., to emphasize the fact, e. g. *Ep. ad Att.* 12, 38, 4; *pro Rosc. Am.* 8, 22; *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 28, 70, (so without *quamvis Brut.* 19, 76); *Ep. ad Fam.* 9, 3, 2, *q. enim sint haec misera quae sunt miserrima*, 'for let this be as bad as you please, and (whether you please or not) it is very bad.' Cf. also *Sen. Apoc.* 13, *itaque q. podagricus esset . . . pervenit ad januam Ditis*; *N. Q.* 6, 4, 2, *ut q. . . . volumen juvenis ediderim, tamen tentare me voluerim*.

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¹ On the subject of tenses with *q.*, see Keppel, *Blätter f. d. Bayrische Gymnasialschulwesen*, p. 111 (1883).

² Cf. Reisig-Haase, §§262, 305.

NOTE.

AS TO AGGLUTINATION.

My essay on 'Agglutination and Adaptation' which appeared some months ago in the pages of this Journal¹ had the honor of being reviewed by Professor V. Henry in the *Revue Critique*.² He gave my article some adverse criticism in regard to details, and some that was favorable, and was everywhere kindly in tone. He made a criticism of a general nature, however, of my contention that the Aryan language must have been a simple language if the Aryans were a primitive people, instancing the complexity of Algonquin compared, say, with English. He also insisted that all glottogonic theories must remain undemonstrated because they were incapable of documentation.

Now, if I were to prepare a table of verb and noun inflexions as produced by agglutination, this table must perforce remain identical in almost every point with just such paradigms as Brugmann, say, or Professor Henry himself would offer. The point of my paper was not to question what I will call the facts of Aryan linguistics as developed in the last few lustrums, but the interpretation of the facts. In offering my tables of paradigms, however, I should believe that the primitive Aryan, or the Aryan just before the breaking-up of the original tribe, possessed no consciousness, say, of three instrumentals in *a* (*e*), *bhi* and *mi* respectively, but appended these demonstrative words to stems to indicate various possible relations, but in the case of *bhi* and *mi* relations apparently personal. The gist of my paper was to affirm that the primitive Aryans indicated person in their nouns and gender in their verbs by the attachment of demonstrative stems, as indeed we do ourselves in the latter case if we were to write what we think, he-loves she-loves. Starting from the almost demonstrable identity of the vocative and imperative, I showed that we could unite verb and noun-inflexion by assuming

¹ XV 409-42; XVI 1-27.

² Dec. 23, 1895, 469-71.

that in a paratactic stage of syntax two action-nouns could by the addition of pronominal determinants be made to play the functions of noun and verb in a great variety of relations.

After developing for myself the conception of person in the noun, I found what seemed to me traces of this in Hebrew, in which language the variation of the verb for gender is also well known.

With this by way of preface, I venture to lay before readers of the Journal some paradigms of the Nama language gathered from an essay entitled 'De l'Article,' by de la Grasserie.¹

Substantif Masculin.

1^{re} personne.

Sing. <i>au-ta</i> 'homme-moi';	accusatif: <i>au-te</i> .
Du. <i>au-khum</i> 'homme-nous-deux';	" <i>au-khum-a</i> .
Plur. <i>au-gye</i> 'hommes-nous';	" <i>au-gye</i> .

2^e personne.

Sing. <i>au-ts</i> 'homme-toi.'
Du. <i>au-kho</i> 'hommes-vous.'
Plur. <i>au-go</i> 'hommes-vous.'

3^e personne.

Sing. <i>au-b</i> 'homme-lui';	accus. <i>au-b-a</i> .
Du. <i>au-kha</i> 'hommes-eux-deux.'	
Plur. <i>au-gu</i> 'hommes-eux';	accus. <i>au-gu-gu</i> .

I might add here paradigms of feminine, and of common nouns, but this is sufficient to show that great complexity is compatible with great simplicity. If all the above suffixes are of plain pronominal origin, as de la Grasserie claims, absolute simplicity reigns until the consciousness of the pronominal origin is lost. Here we have thirteen separate forms to indicate the three persons, three numbers and two cases of a masculine noun, a feminine noun furnishes fifteen more, while the common noun furnishes still others. Now if this language be conceived to give up the characterization of 'person' for its noun and extend its case relations, it would have a number of disused person-forms to convert into case-forms.

¹ Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, IX 308 sq.

What I claimed in my essay was the conjugation of the noun and the declension of the verb. These conclusions are also reached by de la Grasserie, from whom I quote as follows:¹

"Nous avons peine à sortir des idées étroites qui nous ont été inculquées par les grammaires empiriques de nos langues classiques indo-européennes. Ce phénomène, au fond si simple, mais si nouveau pour nous, de la conjugaison des substantifs nous a été révélé par des langues éloignées sous la forme possessive, et sous la forme prédicative on ne le trouve nettement que dans le Nama. De même, l'article ne nous semble pas devoir sortir du substantif. Cependant, quand on a bien constaté son origine pronominale, on n'a pas de peine à découvrir qu'il accompagne aussi le verbe prédicativement, que c'est même là un fait presque universel; c'est lui qui le conjugue. Presque partout, le pronom personnel des trois personnes se préfixe ou se suffixe au verbe d'une manière pléonastique, puisque le substantif sujet est exprimé par ailleurs; n'est ce pas bien là le caractère de l'article? Dans *ἰδω-μι*, *ἰδω-ς*, *ἰδω-σι*, les trois pronoms suffixés, celui de la 3^e personne d'une manière plus apparente, sont de véritables articles."

Thus it will be seen that a wide survey of savage tongues has led de la Grasserie to the same inductions I had previously made, working from the primitive Aryan bases furnished us by the comparison of the derived languages. I claim that, when living languages furnish us with person-endings for nouns as well as for verbs, an Aryan Instrumental in *-mi* runs a strong chance of being identical in origin with the 1st sg. *-mi*, and all the stronger chance when Aryan thematic nouns have an Instrumental in *-ō* to match the 1st sg. *-ō*. My essay showed how many such correspondences existed between verb and noun endings, and when a savage language shows in fact the phenomenon of person-endings attached to a noun, my suggestion that such correspondences in Aryan showed identity of origin of verb and noun endings can no longer be called glottogonic. No, what the prevailing grammatical school has done is to establish an empiric Aryan grammar, and though this empiric grammar sheds light upon the surviving Aryan languages, showing us the causes of their grammatical structure, there still remains the right to search for the cause of the grammatical structure of the Aryan language itself. This latter inquiry may be objective, by instituting a comparison with

¹Ib. 381.

savage and other languages, but will certainly have its subjective side also—and this is glottogonic.

The Hottentots who speak the Nama language are a savage people, but so were the Aryans, we must admit. The summary description of the Hottentots in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* sets forth a stage of civilization substantially like what we find described in the synopsis of Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, furnished us by the Introduction to Clark's *Manual of Linguistics*. The conjugation of the Hottentot noun for which de la Grasserie has furnished documentary evidence constitutes a sort of warrant for the conjugation of the Aryan noun as suggested in my essay on 'Agglutination and Adaptation.'

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
LEXINGTON, VA., Oct. 12.

EDWIN W. FAY.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der religiösen Begriffsbildung. Von HERMANN USENER. Bonn, Friedrich Cohen, 1896.

The Andrians were the first of the islanders of whom Themistokles demanded money, as Herodotos tells us (8, 111). Thrifty people were the Andrians then, as they are now, and they did not yield to the demand; and when Themistokles said that the Athenians brought with them two great gods *Πεῖθός τε καὶ Ἀναγκάην*, the Andrians replied that they also had two gods *Περίη τε καὶ Ἀμνηχανίη*, gods that never left the island and ever haunted the place. The Athenian gods were rich and the Andrian gods were unprofitable, but Resourcelessness was and always would be too strong for Resource. These deities are what we call personifications, and we attach little importance to such transparent figures of speech, but it is precisely these transparent deities to which Professor Usener's book 'Götternamen' is destined to bring more abundant honor. In a well-known chapter of his Roman History Mommsen calls attention to the fact that the Romans paid the very highest honors to some of those very deities that are so cold and formal to us. 'In solchen äusserlich abgezogen Begriffen von der einfältigsten, halb ehrwürdigen, halb lächerlichen Schlichtheit ging die römische Theologie wesentlich auf,' but while he says that abstraction and personification are the essence of Greek theology also, he cites no examples for the Greek side. Compare Paus. 1, 17, 1 and the commentators on Pind. Pyth. 8, 1. Poets being themselves divine, had the right to beget gods, but it is necessary to distinguish between these extemporized gods and the gods that were of ancient lineage. So the *Πεῖθός* and the *Ἀναγκάην* of the Athenians were more or less real deities. The *Περίη* and the *Ἀμνηχανίη* of the Andrians were mere figments, and yet *Περίη* figures in Aristophanes, figures in Plato, and in a few more centuries might have been as truly a deity as *Πεῖθός*. Now it is with these transparent gods that Professor Usener's fascinating volume has chiefly to do. The gods whose names hold no secret are subordinated to those whose names are veiled, and these originally independent deities become mere surnames to the great gods of Olympus. This is the general drift of the book in which Professor Usener has deposited the results of the study of many years. He has brought to the monumental work on Greek mythology, of which this volume covers only a section, wide and profound learning, a wonderful power of combination and a charming style. Those who have read the various monographs in which he has followed the traces of pagan tradition on the sands of the Bollandists will be prepared to welcome this ampler volume; and while the writer of this notice is not one of the specialists to whom, according to the advertisement of the Journal, such a work ought to be referred, still the subject recalls earlier studies of his own, and in default of a critical review the reader may

be not disinclined to accept as a temporary substitute a rapid outline of the contents.

The introductory chapter is headed 'Wort und Begriff.' A word is not a conventional mark, a mere token of the concept (*νόμος*), nor is it an adequate name for the thing itself and its essence (*φύσις*). It is a precipitate of impressions from without, a compendium or, if you choose, a fragment of a description. It is the predicate of an undefined subject that cannot yet be named, that can only be pointed at with the finger. All common nouns must have been originally adjectival in their nature, either real adjectives of quality and the like or *nomina agentis*. Now, are the names of the gods to be measured by the same standard? True, the progress of linguistic tempts the student to the analysis of these *θεῖα ὀνόματα*, but there have been so many mistakes, so many aberrations, that even now we may well heed the sober words of Herodian: *οὐ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κυρίων ἐτυμολογίας λαμβάνειν*. We are then to take the names of the gods as so many data and simply follow the history of the changes to which they have been subjected. In this way we may hope, while studying the phenomena of modification and renewal, to learn something of the forces which were at work in the beginning.

Professor Usener's first chapter deals with the way in which the forms of Greek names increase and multiply. The black-hearted goatherd in the *Odyssey* is now *Μελάνθιος*, now *Μελανθεύς*, and when one comes to patronymics the Greek is apt to open his mouth wide, as commentators on Pind. Ol. 6, 15 have noticed. *Ταλαΐδας* becomes *Ταλαϊονίδας*. But these growths from a common stock have a tendency to differentiation, as *Πλούτος* and *Πλούτων*, and *Κρόνος*, *Κρονίων*, *Κρονίδης*, *Υπερίων* and *Υπεριονίδης* set up a genealogical relation that is nothing but a false inference from the form.

The next chapter has to do with the creation of female divinities. It is not good for a god, any more than it is for a man, to be alone. But in the *Rigveda* there are few female divinities, and the Vedic gods dispense with the process of birth. There are female figures enough, but these are only goddesses by courtesy, pale creatures, mere lunar rainbows to the gods, and Professor Usener sets up the thesis that, with the exception of two or three old goddesses whose sex was determined by the conception of their character, the Indo-Germanic peoples begat none but male deities, and that the female deities were mere inflexions of the masculine forms, and grew out of them as Eve was taken out of the side of Adam. The Romans in the *indigitamenta* turned out gods, as every one knows, male and female, with tiresome frequency. Every Jack had his Jill, every Faunus had his Fauna, and the Greek mythology, especially the heroic saga, is full of such couples as *Γλαῦκος* and *Γλαῦκη*, *Ἰππόλυτος* and *Ἰππολύτη*. Sometimes one is left a widower, sometimes one is left a widow. *Ζεὺς*'s spouse *Δία* is divorced from him. In epic poetry *Ἑκάτος* had to live without his *Ἑκάτη*, and in later times *Ἑκάτη*'s good old god survived not in the mouth of the people, but merely in the realms of literature.

We have had thus far the variation of the word. We now take a step farther and come to the variation of the concept, a process which blends indistinguishably with the variation of the word. So, for instance, in a word like *ἀλλόκοτος*, like *νεόκοτος* the Attics felt not so much a compound as a suffixal variation of *ἄλλος* and *νέος*. There is a class of compounds thrown off in swarms

by the lyric and tragic poets in which an original adjective receives, as it were, a determinative without losing anything of its primal force. Take, for instance, such a series as μέλας, μελάγχριμος, μελαγχίτων, μελαμβαθής, μελαμφανής, μελανανγής, μελανόχρως. This is one of the most familiar features of Aeschylean diction, and the priest of Eleusis found models in the language of religious worship. So Ἑκατος became Ἐκάεργος, Ἐκηβόλος, Ἐκατηβόλος. Ἀρίστη, a surname of Artemis, became Ἀριστοβούλη and Ἀριστομάχη. Then the notion is not only varied and extended, but revived and refreshed by new formations. So the word παμφαής assumes a variety of forms. παμφαής is an appellation of the sun and moon, πασιφάεσσα of Aphrodite, and Παμφαής figures in a myth of the Dioskuroi. Πασιφάη is not only the daughter of Helios, but a Laconian moon-goddess, and Πάμφως, the mythical singer, was the inventor of lamplight.

We now pass on to the names of the gods the signification of which is transparent, and here our path is crossed by the peculiarity of the Roman religion, to which reference has been made already. The object of prayer demands that none of the gods shall be omitted whose help is needed to bring good or avert evil, just as schoolboys have to invoke all four evangelists to loose the knot of the cramp which the devil is tying in their legs. These names were all registered in the Roman prayer-books, in the *indigitamenta*, and hosts of these *di certi*, as Varro calls them, have come down to us. Professor Usener calls them 'Sondergötter.' Let us call them 'Specialist Gods.' They have each a definite function and every sphere of life is mapped out, every section assigned to a special divinity. Twelve gods, for instance, besides Tellus and Ceres, are invoked for the *sacrum cereale*, beginning with the god who breaks the fallow field, Veruactor, and winding up with Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor—all transparent enough. Seeds are intrusted to Seia, and Proserpina has care of the tender shoot that creeps up out of the earth. Flora presides over the flowers, Pomona is goddess of fruit, and Epona has charge of horses and mules, and instances might be multiplied indefinitely. Now, these are not, as Grassmann would have it, a weak aftergrowth of a popular religion that has been checked in its development. They show, as Mommsen has seen, the deep religious sense of the Italic peoples, and the persistency with which the Italics held to these forms, which we are apt to call bloodless abstractions, stands in striking contrast to the rapid disappearance of Italic myths before the face of Greek traditions. But this phenomenon does not stand alone, and we pass from the heathen of Italy to the heathen of Northern Europe, from the Roman gods to the gods of Lithuania, that part of Europe in which heathendom held longest open sway. The long list of Lithuanian deities shows a host of significant names from A to Z, from Auscantum, 'the buzzardess' or goddess of the bee, to Zelus, 'the green grower,' who is the god of the grass. We are back again in the realm of the *indigitamenta*. A similar partition of the realm of good and evil is familiar to the student of hagiology. Every one knows that each trade has its patron saint, that St. Hubert is the patron of the hunter and that the shoemaker is jocularly called a Knight of St. Crispin. St. Anthony cares for the swine, St. Barbara averts death in battle, and St. Joseph is invoked by those who are in quest of partners for life, as in that charming little story *La Neuvaïne de Colette*. These have entered into the inheritance of the ancient specialists. Only the names are not so transparent and the personality is more vivid.

The next chapter deals with the Greek specialist gods. In spite of the plastic character of Greek religion, in spite of the domination of figures that refuse to be analyzed, there is no lack of transparent deities, and these specialist gods and goddesses, with their practice limited to one sphere, remind one of the *δημιουργοί* of the Homeric time. To begin with the beginning, to begin with birth, there is *Καλλιγένεια*, there is *Γενετυλλίς*. *Κουροτρόφος*, a surname of a number of deities, seems originally to have had an office of her own. 'Long before the Madonna with the Christ-child could be represented, the ancient figure of the *Κουροτρόφος* appears on the mural paintings of the Catacombs.' *Αύξησία* is transparent and so is *Αύξω*, one of the old Attic Charites. The *Ἵσται* are the seasons, and in Attica there are two, *Θαλλώ* and *Καρπώ*. *Θαλλώ* in the form *Θάλεια* contrives a double debt to pay and serves now as a Muse, now as a Grace. *Ἐρση* is a goddess of the dew. *Βούτης* is a neatherd, and his mother, *Ζευξιππη*, harnesses horses. *Λεχώ* is a midwife and *Βριζώ* is a goddess that is caught napping. The divine physician is Asklepios, but before Asklepios established himself as master of leechcraft *par excellence* there was an *Ἱατρός*, and, according to Professor Usener, *Paian Παίων* is older than Apollo. He is *πανίαν* 'the cleanser,' who makes everything *purum putum*, and *Paian* continues to be honored side by side with Asklepios. *Ἱάσος* is another healer, and so is *Χείρων*, who is a surgeon. *Ἰάσων*, the pupil of *Χείρων*, is a healer too, and *Μήδεια ἡ πολυφάρμακος*, the running mate of *Ἰάσων*, belongs to the same sphere. *Ὑγίεια* is a notorious instance, and examples of Greek transparencies in the field of medicine might be multiplied.

Every one knows the great part that light plays in religion. It plays a great part in ours; it played a great part in the Greek system, and much space is given to it by Professor Usener. *Λύκος* is the light god, and has a far less famous brother, *Νυκτεὺς*, the night god. This *Λύκο-* enters into various combinations and figures largely in the names of places, among which Professor Usener counts *Λυκίσουρα*, which he renders 'lichtes warte.' Unluckily, popular etymology coupled the two *λύκοι*, and *λυκάβας*, 'the path of light,' the great year, was interpreted as the 'wolf-path,' so that we have mist instead of transparency.

Now, these independent gods, these specialists—such is Professor Usener's contention—gradually became subordinate to the personal gods, to the gods that had assumed a plastic form. If he will pardon the expression, they were mediatized. *Λύκος* or *Λύκειος* became a mere surname of Apollo. Artemis absorbed *Καλλίστη*. Of course, there are many eponyms that belong properly to this god and that. *Ὀλύμπιος* was fused with *Ζεύς* as *Παφία* with *Ἀφροδίτη*, but, on the other hand, we are not to suppose that *Λύκος* came from *Ἀπόλλων Λύκειος* or from *Ζεύς Λυκαῖος*. Professor Usener has himself shown, in his charming book on St. Pelagia, how the surnames of Aphrodite-Venus have hypostatized themselves in sacred legend, but here we are on different ground.

The main divinity of a place was naturally called *ἄναξ* or *ἄνασσα*, *δεσπότης*, *δέσποινα* (*πότνια*), later *κύριος*, *κυρία*. Baal means simply 'lord.' Marna, the god of Gaza, survives in the Christian formula Maranatha. So in Latin we have Dominus and Era. In fact, one of the saints in the calendar bears the name Domna. *Δέσποινα* is largely identified with Persephone, but she is

separated from her in the cult of the Peloponnesus. Πότνια at the time of Theokritos was one with Κόρη. In Athens the two goddesses of the Eleusinian mysteries were Πότνιαι, according to Sophokles, O. C. 1050, but the same Sophokles addresses the Erinyes with ὦ Πότνιαι δεινῶπες, just as Aischylos speaks of Erinyes as πότνια. 'King' and 'queen' seem made for Zeus and Hera. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ is a familiar exclamation, and there is but scant trace of an independent Βασιλεὺς. Not so is it with Βασίλεια. Ἥρα Βασίλεια, Ἥρα Βασιλὶς had to give her glory to others; so to Κύπρις Βασίλεια, to Horace's *Venus regina Cnidi Paphique*, to Ἀρτεμις Βασίλεια. The notion was older than that of any personal god, and *Maria regina caeli* of the modern church has a rival in Hindu mythology. The independence of Basileia is shown in the Birds of Aristophanes, in which Prometheus advises Peithetairos to ask Zeus for Basileia in marriage. She is no longer Hera, but a virgin daughter of Zeus. Nor does the identification with Athens shake the theory. Then there is a Βασίλη who had been carried off by one Echelos or 'Holdfast,' and who had a sanctuary opposite the palaestra of Taureas at Athens.

In the same way many local gods who bore the surnames of their respective localities become subordinated and shrink into mere surnames. Ἥρα Ἀργεῖα is Hera of Argos, but Ἀργεῖα is a goddess of light, and the Ἥρα Ἀργεῖα of Sparta was never a Hera of Argos. So gods of the field once autonomous become eponymous, and from the long list of surnames, especially of Zeus, Demeter and Dionysos, we may pick out parallels for the figures of the *indigitamenta*. Ζεὺς Μόριος and Ἀθηνᾶ Μορία protected the olive, Διόνυσος Ὀμφακίτης watched over the unripe grape, and, like the Latin Messor, Δημήτηρ Ἀμαία presided over mowing. In Italy not only the old names but the old deities persisted in the cultus. In Greece the personal gods absorb the specialists. Such of these specialists as are not absorbed must be content, in many cases, to live on as δαίμονες or ἥρωες. In fact, ἡμίθεος is the prose of ἥρωες. The heroes were originally the blessed souls of the departed and were held in honor everywhere, as the remains of ἡρώα attest; and the ranks of these heroes were reinforced by the specialist gods who had come down from the Upper House. An American at once thinks of John Quincy Adams in the House of Representatives. From this it will be seen that Professor Usener does not subscribe to the doctrine so prevalent nowadays, that the worship of the gods is simply a development of ancestor-worship. This notion he considers one of those intellectual epidemics to which humanity is exposed, and he refuses to accept animism and totemism as the final source of religion. The belief in gods, he says, comes from the spirit of man himself, who applies and transfers to what he does not know the most important fact of his own consciousness, the possession of a living soul. Ancestor-worship is not the origin of the gods, and the traces of herodism we see in this god and that god are not remains of the original state of things, but the after-growth of tradition. The myth that makes Dionysos the son of Semele, daughter of Kadmos, and in this way a mere deified hero, belongs to a very late stratum. The same thing can be proved in regard to Asklepios and Herakles, in regard to the Dioskuroi and Helen. These are late processes. Much earlier is the change that turns a specialist god into a hero. In Olympia and on the Isthmus the chariot-drivers tried to propitiate the daimon Ταρά-

Ξεππος. In Olympia they thought of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Glaukos, who had been torn in pieces by his own horses. Once upon a time this Taraxippos was a god or godling with his choice and select circle of subjects. In the course of the ages he became here an eponym, there a hero. But we cannot follow Professor Usener into all the rich detail of this chapter. Hesiod, he reminds us, put the number of immortal beings that at Zeus' bidding watch over mortal men (O. et D. 252) at thrice ten thousand. There are a good many left, but the transparent figures of the specialists had to be content, as we have seen, to live on as eponyms of other gods or in the lower estate of *ἥρωες* and *δαίμονες*, while the opaque names, such as Kekrops and Achilles, and those which were not sufficiently specialized, such as Euphemos, were woven into the texture of heroic legend.

It has been shown that the principle of the Roman *indigitamenta* is not isolated, that it was at work not only in Lithuania, but also in Hellas. These three alone would suffice to give it a firm foothold, and from this vantage-ground Professor Usener proceeds to survey the field and ask how far these facts modify our historical view of polytheism.

F. G. Welcker reached as the conclusion of his long researches, that the notion of Zeus the Sky as *the* godhead was the root out of which all the special forms of divinity sprang. Schelling in his old age arrived at the view that a relative monotheism stood at the threshold of all religion, a relative monotheism sharply to be distinguished from an absolute or pure monotheism, which is the last result of religious and philosophic development. The vague unity of the One God took different forms at different times, and the different aspects led in the process of the ages to the development of distinct gods. We revert to the old story of the Tower of Babel and the scattering abroad of the peoples. Now, the subject can be attacked from different sides. The names of the months, which are derived, as a rule, from the main festival of each month or from the god celebrated at the festival, yield interesting and important results. Another side is presented by old sacral traditions, by the traces of human sacrifices, of fetich worship, which lead to conclusions as to the special antiquity of such and such gods. Nor would it be unremunerative to study the religion of those peoples to the North and East of Hellas, who, though akin to the Greeks, were regarded as barbarians simply because they had been left behind in the march of culture. All these fields of observation yield the same result. The same four or five gods come out as the earliest stock. The next step is to regard the heroes as hypostases of the attributes of well-known gods. A stride, and these few gods, these four or five, are the emanations of the one god Zeus, all with the exception of the one goddess that matches the one god.

Now, as Professor Usener well says, a thought must be thought out, must be pushed to its consequences, before we can be convinced whether it is tenable or not; and after pursuing this line of thought for some time, he felt his feet slipping from under him. The hypostases lacked staying power. Finally, the study of the Lithuanian gods relieved him of the painful feeling. He had to turn back, he had to learn the lesson backward, and has come to the conclusion which is embodied in this work. Only finite phenomena, finite relations, can call forth the feeling of the infinite—not *the* infinite, as we

understand it, but something infinite—and so there arises an indefinite series of notions of god, all which have at first independent value. We who are accustomed to the thought of one god can conceive of such divine forms only as manifestations or emanations of deity, but we are not to confound the feeling and thought of the childhood of humanity with our own. We must learn to feel and think with the early time, and then we shall be able to understand how, from the mass of homogeneous specialist gods, personal gods arise, and how the plenitude of power of the personal gods brings polytheism to monotheism, to the *εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω*. To be sure, none of the prominent members of our family of peoples has remained in the stage at which only specialist gods are known. But there were others, such as the *Καλλαῖκοί*, forlorn outposts of the Kelts beyond the Pyrenees, whom Strabo (3, 164) calls *ἄθεοι* because their gods were nameless, that is, had no proper names. There were Thracian *ἄθεοι* of the same order mentioned by Theophrastos (ap. Porphy. de abstinentia 2, 8), whose gods lacked proper names as well as those of the *Καλλαῖκοί*. So too at a later day the Christians were called *ἄθεοι*, not that they had no god, but because they withheld from the personal gods of the heathen the tribute that was their due. Hence the cry *αἰρε τοὺς ἄθεους*. And now we are able to understand what Herodotos (2, 52) tells us of the Pelasgi, that they brought all manner of offerings to the gods, but had no proper names, no surnames, for any of them.¹ From these facts Professor Usener comes to the conclusion that at the time of the parting of the ways of our family of peoples between East and West, the concrete personal gods had not yet established themselves, that the specialist gods still held sway.

From these specialist gods, however, we must descend to a still lower grade, to the conception of a god that, so to speak, perishes with the using, a god that emerges in response to a momentary impulse, a momentary feeling. Such momentary gods we find in the Lithuanian system. Such a god is the one that is formed by the last harvest sheaf before which, as in the Biblical narrative, the other sheaves make obeisance. It was a manner of fetich of what we have a trace in the old harvest song, the old *οὔλος Ιουλος* song. Iulos was a deity, Eiresione was a deity. The Macedonians worshipped Keraunos 'the thunderbolt' as an independent god, and all will remember the reverence paid to meteoric stones. The Moon is the month and Helios is the day. In the curious passage *πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω* (Θ 166), an un-Homeric passage according to commentators, new and old, the schoolboy rendering 'I will give you the deuce first,' though startlingly modern, is not so far from Professor Usener's contention. *δαίμονα*, then, is really *κακὸν δαίμονα*. What could be more shifty than the *δαίμων* or the expression that occurs so often, *ὁ παρὼν δαίμων* 'the sprite that attends us now'? From this point of view anything can become a god, as was said at the beginning of this review. 'Αναίδεια does not stand on a different plane from the Andrian 'Αμχανίη whose acquaintance we made a while ago. But the Greek *δαίμων* is faint and vague in comparison

¹ Justin Martyr recurs repeatedly to the namelessness of God. Apol. 1, 10. 61; 2, 6, in which last passage he says: *ὄνομα τῷ πάντων πατρὶ θεόν, ἀγεννήτῳ ὄντι, οὐκ ἔστιν· ὃ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὀνόματί τι προσαγορεύηται, πρεσβύτερον ἔχει τὸν θέμενον τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ πατὴρ καὶ θεὸς καὶ κτίστης καὶ κύριος καὶ δεσπότης οὐκ ὀνόματά ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εὐποίων καὶ τῶν ἔργων προσρῆσις.*

with the Italic *genius*. This is the word which language uses as a general term to designate an infinite number of individual notions. Every man, every society, every body of troops, every town has a *genius*. And what *genius* is to a man, *Iuno* is to a woman. Nay, in her relation to men, every woman has a *Venus*. *Lugete o Veneres* is an Italic conception. The Greek does not use *Ἀφροδίται* thus. In the imperial times the power of begetting gods for the nonce did not forsake the old Roman religion. Everything that belonged to an emperor was deified—his outgoing, *Profectus Augusti*, and his incoming, *Reditus Augusti*. All the qualities of the emperor, his Justice, his Severity, all his moods, his Hilarity, his Gladness, all his blessings, his Happiness, his Hope, stand out as individuals. These also are extemporized gods that respond to the feelings of the mass of the people.¹

At last we come to the gods that are gods, to the personal gods, the opaque gods, if we choose to call them so, in contrast to the more shadowy gods that have followed thus far every step of human life, in contrast to those gods of whom the words of Euripides hold good:

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν χωρὶς ἀνθρώποις θεῶν.

It is hard for us to renew in ourselves the state of mind of those antique souls who called these gods into being and then believed on them, according to the saying (Tacit. Ann. 5, 10): *fingebant simul credebantque*. But facts care very little whether we understand them or not. This simultaneous fancy and faith is the key to the riddle of the momentary gods, the 'Augenblicksgötter.' The specialist gods belong to a more advanced period of abstraction, to a stage which was over when the poems of Homer originated. In the clear light of the sky which they inhabit the Olympians stand forth in sharp outlines, in bodily presence, things to be seen and handled. Even shadowy notions such as *Oneiros*, the dream-god, and *Até* partake of this substantial character. It is a great advance. But the advance was not due to Homer or, as Herodotos says in a well-known passage (2, 4), to Hesiod and Homer: *οὔτοι εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι*. Nor was it a special merit of the Greeks. Personal gods had to exist before they could be developed, and that they existed the history of kindred peoples shows: the Hindus with their Vedic *Indra*, the Germans with their *Wuotan*, the Lithuanians with their *Perkuns*. How did this change come about?

The special gods or specialist gods could not have been all of the same importance. Certain gods were more prominent than others. Let us take an example: *Apollo*, one of the most richly endowed figures of *Olympos*. He is popularly regarded as a sun-god—so now and so also in antiquity. But *Apollo* and *Helios* are not the same in Homer. *Apollo* may be a god of light, but he is not *Helios*. The real significance of the god can only be ascertained by the study of his name, which means the 'off-driver,' the *Averruncus* of the Romans. The meaning of the name was lost. *Ἀπόλλων* was no longer transparent; his original function needed the interpretation of such eponyms as *Ἀλεξίκακος* and *Ἀποτρόπαιος*, and this opaque god overbore His Transparency *Λύκος* just as *Ἄρτεμις* and *Ἑκάτη* were to overbear *Σελήνη* and *Μήνη*. *Omne ignotum pro magno* *fico*. A like fortune has attended *Zeus*. In Greece incom-

¹ See L. Dyer, *The Gods in Greece*, pp. 37-45, on the deification of the Roman emperors.

prehensible Zeus reigned King of the Gods. In India the too comprehensible Dyaush-pitar gave way to Indra.

So in the history of language, out of the mass of special words reflecting the various impressions produced by this and that aspect of things, one word attains to the primacy. Steed, nag, stallion, mare, filly, colt, charger, palfrey, destrier, horse, all these abide, but the greatest of these is horse. The chosen word becomes a manner of proper name, becomes colorless.

After Eugène Burnouf had proved with methodical certainty the original unity of the mythic figures of the Zendavesta with the gods of the Rigveda, both as to the forms and as to the original significance of their names, and Adalbert Kuhn had extended Burnouf's method, with marked success, to the European peoples, a comparative mythology seemed possible. It was a very natural application of comparative philology, and rested on the assumption that the prehistoric notions of gods and heroes had found their final expression in language before the parting of the peoples. But, according to Professor Usener, the arbitrariness and the violence with which those who wrought in the new department multiplied the points of comparison, soon lost to them the confidence of those who were engaged in mythological research, and Andrew Lang's criticism of Max Müller is cited as an illustration. The coincidences of language really reduce themselves to a small number of cases, and the few that are left are by no means universal. So the Hindu gods have vanished from the majority of the kindred peoples. The notions of the gods are perpetually recoined; the old word becomes opaque and is replaced by more transparent formations. In Greece the different cantons show the greatest variations in their oldest traditions, and only the advance of culture and the spread of literature have made the Greek gods the common property of the whole people. If this is true of Greece, so much more strongly does it hold of kindred peoples. Like words in this religious sphere can only be exceptions. Out of multitudinous words for the same notion one emerges and becomes, as we have seen, a manner of proper name. This stage once reached, the god develops a new life. Sārameyas, the son of Sarama, is almost an ἀμειννὸν κάρηνον in the Rigveda. Hermes, his Greek equivalent, is bursting with life. The Greek ἁρίερες remind one of the *haritas*, the horses of the sun, only by their connection with the light of heaven which shines out in Aglaia. In Greece Ζεὺς Διὸς, Ζήν Ζηνός are rival forms of the same word. In Italy Ianus parts company with Iovis, Iuppiter. Faunus was one of the most important gods of Latium. It is the same name as the Greek Φάων, the divine ferryman who steered the souls of the blessed from the Leukadian rock over the ocean to the land of light where the gods dwelt, and the story how Aphrodite, in the form of an old woman, was taken across by this ferryman has come down the ages in different forms. So Iason bore Hera across the Anauros, Herakles Dionysos across the sea, St. Christopher the Christ-child across the torrent. The connection of the Faunus with Aphrodite is there, to be sure, but how different! He is a *Faunus inuus* and a *Faunus incubus*, a 'leaper' and a 'presser.'

Polytheism receives color and character by the development, by the growth-getting, of the personal gods, by their taking on of form. In the Homeric poems Apollo is what might be called in familiar parlance a 'settled' god.

The two gods Phoibos and Apollo have grown together, and it is an understood thing that Phoibos is the subordinate notion. One says Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων as one says νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς. And so of Ἑκατος, Ἑκάεργος, Ἑκηβόλος and the rest of them. The gods proceeded to annex the territory of the specialist gods, Zeus widens his reign, polytheism tends to monotheism, and the way is prepared for Xenophanes, who breaks resolutely with the theogony. It might also be interesting to trace the high career of Τύχη, who started as a manner of sea-nymph in the olden time and came out a manner of queen in the imperial period, a Fortuna Regina.¹ Then came in foreign gods, then came on the period of syncretism. This was also a step in the direction of monotheism. Serapis united in himself Zeus, Pluto, Dionysos and Osiris; Helios absorbed Apollo and Dionysos, and every one knows the part that Mithras played in the religious system of the Emperor Julian. The old personal gods began to fade out. In early times ὁ θεός stood for any familiar god, according to the occasion—now Zeus, now Apollo, now Poseidon, according as rain or oracle or earthquake was meant. Then it stood for 'god' in general. Then came τὸ θεῖον, τὸ δαιμόνιον. Ζεὺς gave way to his attribute Μέγιστος, Iuppiter to Aeternus Sanctus, and finally we reach the stage at which Πάνθεος appears. Only Pantheus would not satisfy the old craving for a personal god, and Pantheus is rarely used alone, but appears mostly tacked on to Iuppiter, Priapus or Serapis. The monotheistic revelation of Judea found a world that was ready for it, and entered upon the career which Professor Usener has traced in several of his earlier writings, a career in which the old seeds of popular belief bore fruit upward in the figures of the hagiology.

We now turn to the reverse of the process, the degradation of the names of the gods to names for the children of men. Here the old saying, *omen nomine quaerunt*, has its application. There were *fausta nomina*, 'lucky names.' There were names that belonged to certain professions. There were Asklepiads on the island of Kos and elsewhere, there were Cheironids at Demetrias. The θεοὶ πατῶροι were held in honor, and names were taken from the calendar as in modern times. These names appear now with suffixes, as Ἀθήναιος and Ἀπολλώνιος, now in compounds, as Ἀθηναγόρας, Ἡρόδικος, Ἀθηνοφάνης, Διόφαντος, Ἑρμοχάρης, Διῶναξ, Ζηνόβιος, Διογείτων, Διογένης, Ἀπολλόδοτος, Ζηνοθεμῖς, Διοκλῆς, Ἑρμοκράτης, Διασθένης, Ἑρμότιμος, Δίφιλος. The cult of Δῆμος is shown by the long list of derivatives, and the Ἀνακτες give origin to a considerable series, under which Professor Usener classes the familiar name Ἀνακρέων.² There are also Roman names traceable to like origin. Mamercus has long been derived from Mamers and Tiberius from the river-god Tiber, and there are others. Even the names of the gods could be transferred bodily to men when the worship of the gods themselves had faded out; and hence we encounter examples chiefly in the later years. Slaves bore the names Eros and Hermes, perhaps on the same principle on which the Southerners named their negroes in the old slavery times Jupiter and Juno. Here the earlier time and the later time meet. In the earlier days the Βάκχοι or Βάκχαι called themselves by the name of the god whom they served and on occasion represented. The maidens who were consecrated to the service of Artemis of Brauron were called Ἀρκτοί.

¹ See Allègre, Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyché. Paris, 1889.

² See A. J. P. III 463.

But according to Professor Usener the whole world of Greek proper names is full of gods, and the presumption that any name is in some way taken from the calendar, as are Christian names in Continental Europe, cannot be considered extravagant. In fact the specialist gods as well as the personal gods have left their traces all over the onomasticon of Greece.

But how is it with the names that present the idea of the divinity in an 'abstract' form? Such names as Deimos and Phobos and Eris, such names as Kydoimos and Ker in the Iliad, such names as Chaos and Nyx and Hemere in Hesiod, to say nothing of such a gang of personifications as we find in the Aeneid, 6, 274 foll.? They swarm, as every one knows, in late poetry, as the belief in personal gods dies out. See Nonnos for Greek; see Claudian for Latin. But there were numbers of them in the earlier time. They were shadowy, they were bloodless, but that was due to the transparency of their names. They lacked the mystery of the personal gods. They were mere abstracts. But let me ask here, What are abstracts? Did language have any abstracts to begin with? That is a question that must have thrust itself upon every thoughtful teacher of Greek. Our grammars of every degree joyously make categories for abstract and concrete, and have done so for generations, without asking whether the language with which they are dealing recognizes these categories. *σῶμα* is supposed to be the equivalent of 'abstract,' *πρᾶγμα* of 'concrete.' How futile! And as a grammarian I am glad to see that Professor Usener is about to take the field against these notions, which have done no little harm in perverting the linguistic feeling of the students of Greek. But I find that I have strayed from the path which I had prescribed for myself in this notice. Of Professor Usener's mythological combinations I have no right to judge; still less, if possible, of the etymological portions of his treatise, and I am afraid that the outline I have given is as pale and bloodless as some of the shadowy figures of which he speaks at the end of the book. Still, this summary will not have been written in vain, if it incite some student to the perusal of a work which is marvellous for its wealth of learning, valuable for its manifold suggestiveness, and delightful for its limpid and sparkling style.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

Plauti Comoediae. Recensuit et emendavit F. LEO. Berolini, vol. I (Amphitrucuo-Mercator), 1895; vol. II (Miles-Vidularia), 1896.

Plautinische Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie von F. LEO. Berlin, 1895.

In 1875 Ussing, in the preface to the first volume of his complete edition of Plautus, after expressing his high appreciation of Ritschl's labors, criticised him because "suo saepe iudicio plus tribuens quam antiquorum testimoniis dum et sententias ad summum nitorem exigere conatur textum constituit non inelegantem quidem sed nec satis fidum nec non saepius a Plauti sermone et sensu alienum," etc. This attitude of Ussing brought down upon him the sharpest criticism of the Ritscheliens, so that he was obliged to protest against it in his second volume. Who would have thought that the same severe critics, after carrying Ritschl's edition to a brilliant termination and producing

a text which, as even they themselves would now admit, Plautus could never have written, should in the smaller edition finished two years ago have published a text equally impossible because of its too slavish adherence to the MSS even when they were incomprehensible? or that the editor of a new text should be able boldly to proclaim in his preface, as Leo does: "*aliud est apparatus criticum comparare, aliud scriptoris opus recensere et emendare; in Plauto utrumque facere mortalitas non concedit uni*"? The edition thus introduced is destined to be the prevailing edition of Plautus for many years, and will take at once a high place as the work of a very clever as well as conservative critic. It rests, to be sure, upon no independent collation of the MSS; so that the editor makes himself accountable for whatever mistakes may occur in the *Triumvirate* apparatus. But, as Tyrrell says of Baiter's collation of the Medicean of Cicero, "if every editor who does not reproduce the text of Baiter must have himself collated the MSS, then the work of Baiter has been thrown away. . . . why should not a collation once satisfactorily executed be regarded as final for the purposes of future editors?" On the other hand, it is based upon a very careful study of MSS variations, during the course of which Leo has reached certain conclusions, perhaps made some discoveries of great value. These are set forth in the *Plautinische Forschungen*, which is unquestionably the most important contribution to Plautine literature in recent years and deserves the careful attention of every student of early Latin. The book comprises six chapters, of which the first, fifth and sixth have a direct bearing upon the text.

In the first chapter, '*Geschichte der Ueberlieferung der Plautinischen Komödien im Altertum*,' Leo discusses the formation of the Plautine corpus and the interrelation of the Ambrosianus and the Palatine family of MSS. Since the careful study of the Ambrosianus inaugurated by Ritschl, the tendency has been to accept its readings. Leo hopes to prove not only that both A and P sprang from the same MS, which has been long admitted, but that the text from which they are drawn has been changed without hesitation in A, to a smaller degree and within certain limits in P. Furthermore, the text that we get by the agreement of A and P, or, where they disagree, by a study of their disagreement, or where P alone is at hand, by clearing it of its medieval corruption, is the text of the beginning of the second century A. D. It has been long known that the text of Plautus does not go back to his own times, but was drawn from stage copies, whose variation caused trouble even in Varro's time. But it has been supposed that we have substantially the *Fabulae Varroniana*e as Varro knew them. Leo, however, claims that by the end of the first century Plautus had completely disappeared from Rome, but that in the outlying districts numerous plays of great or less purity of text were still to be found; that some grammarian, perhaps Valerius Probus, gathered together these stray plays and made a corpus of twenty-one plays, selecting that number because Varro had spoken of that number as being universally accepted. Our plays are *Fabulae Varroniana*e in that sense, but in no other. This text is in the main the text of Varro's time, revised and emended according to the metrical canons of the second-century criticism. We can only expect, accordingly, by the most diligent study of the MSS, to get the text of the second century, not the text of Plautus' own time. This

position seems to be in the main correct. Certain modifications will, of course, always have to be made as we discover more and more of the differences between the metrical technique of the Archaists and that of Plautus' own time, and the recent study of metre by many scholars, nay, the study by Leo himself in this book, shows that much progress may still be made towards the text on which the second-century edition was based. We cannot expect ever to arrive at the true text, but we can hope that not nearly so many cases of hiatus as Leo still admits will be found in the editions of twenty years hence, even if we may finally have to admit that in many cases the Archaists' recension has obliterated the traces of the early text. This conservative attitude of Leo leads him to leave many lines unchanged where a slight emendation would make them perfect. It leads him likewise to keep the spelling of the MSS, even if it is not wholly consistent. He makes no attempt to introduce the spelling of Plautus' own time, as does the Triumvirate edition, and thereby escapes many difficulties that the Triumvirate editors were worried by; to adhere to the MSS lightens the labor, even if it does not solve questions.

The fifth chapter, 'Auslautendes *s* und *m*,' is devoted to an attempt to settle some questions connected with the application of the iambic law and its extensions. Skutsch in 1892 had shown that a certain number of trochaic words ending in short vowels could lose the vowel and be pronounced as monosyllables, and in the concluding 'Ausblick' propounded the question whether syncopation is to be restricted to the cases he has treated or "sollten nicht vielmehr in dem grossen Körper der Plautinischen Dichtungen sich auch noch weitere Spuren der Erscheinung finden, zwar nicht mit einer gewissen Regelmässigkeit auftretend wie jene, aber gelegentlich und vereinzelt?" Leo answers this question decidedly in the affirmative, and discusses in all its bearings the thesis propounded in his *Vindiciae Plautinae* of 1887, that in scansion final *-us* or *-is* can be omitted entirely before a following vowel. If this theory is allowed, and it seems certain that it must be allowed to some degree, a large number of lines that have hitherto been held to require emendation prove to scan easily, as the difficult *Rudens* 1006, *Elleborosus sum. At ego cerrit(us), hunc non amittam tamen*, where the Triumvirate text transposes and the new Teubner marks a corruption.

The wide application of this principle will be at once appreciated, but Leo pushes it quite beyond its natural limits to the explanation of a number of more or less doubtful Latin forms. If in *-is* the *s* is dropped, then *i* weakens to *e* by Latin phonetic law; hence *magis* and *mage* are the same, and even where *magis* appears before vowels it may be scanned always as *mage*. *Sat* for *satis* is a further weakening, and *potis* and *pote*, *fortassis* and *fortasse* have the same relation to each other. But a still further and more important application can be made. The double termination of the second singular passive has long been a subject of dispute. The most recent view is that *-ere* is the equivalent of *-eō*, which is doubtful, and that *-eris* is formed by the further addition of the active termination *-is*, which is absurd. This explanation is evidently a *pis-aller* until something better is discovered. Leo holds that *-ris* and *-re* are the same, differently pronounced. The origin of *-ris* he discreetly leaves untouched. Also *-tis* and *-te* of the second plural indicative and imperative active may interchange; as *Cist.* 573 *servate di med obsecro*,

answered by *at me perditis*, where Leo says "*servate* wird als *servatis* gefasst." Here it seems to me that there is no necessity for such an interpretation; the answer could just as well admit a preceding imperative. More to his purpose is his second citation, Curc. 41 *obloquere*, though it involves a different form. How this view can be made to explain grammarians' mistakes is well shown by Rud. 107 *virile sexus numquam ullum habui. at di dabunt*. This passage is cited by Priscian as proof that Plautus made *sexus* neuter; but as that has seemed incredible, editors have read *virile secus*. Leo holds that *virile* is only another pronunciation of *virilis*.

What the fate of this theory will be cannot be foreseen; but while we may be inclined to admit the total elision of the final syllable, it will probably seem to most critics that an explanation applicable to certain conditions and words has been pushed too far by its eager author. Particularly in some of the latter points does it seem that but slight evidence is adduced. Many adjectives in *-is* were followed by substantives with initial *s*: why this peculiar corruption in the case of *virile sexus* only? So in the case of the verb-terminations, why should some have become differentiated in literature and not the other forms?

With regard to final *-m* Leo is unable to reach a definite conclusion, but he thinks that probably the classical treatment of final *-m* is but a phase in its history subsequent to the period closed by Ennius, and that Plautus could retain or drop the *-m*-syllable before a vowel, according to the exigencies of the metre.

It may be remarked, further, that Leo holds that *dpud* is the pronunciation in all cases, even when the hiatus involved could be avoided by pronouncing *apud*. Combinations with monosyllabic pronouns are exceptions. The same holds good of *enim*, and exceptions are due to the archaistic period.

The sixth chapter is devoted to *hiatus*. Leo proves that the termination *ae* was treated differently in early Latin, according to the case, thus: the gen. sg. avoids synaloephe, and either admits semi-hiatus or substitutes the form *ai*; the nom. pl. admits synaloephe, but also the hiatus; the dat. sg. avoids hiatus and regularly suffers synaloephe. This difference in treatment he ascribes properly to the fact that in the dat. only do we have the original ending, while in the other cases the ending is secondary. Those few cases where the gen. suffers elision Leo would emend by transposition, though he does not make the change in his text.

But Leo's work is not confined to the defense of the existing text. He emends vigorously and throughout all the plays. In many places he is very felicitous, in others he is less so, and a general criticism may be made that he pays too little attention to paleographic principles and more to what his study of the text leads him to think may have been the true reading. Many suggestions found in the *apparatus* he has not felt justified in inserting in the text. Probably a good deal of light may still be thrown upon the text by studying the corruptions of the MSS from the paleographical point of view. As a specimen of his work we may take the *Truculentus*, which will show likewise how it differs from the Goetz and Schoell edition.

In the *editio minor* of Goetz and Schoell, 335 out of 968 lines rest upon emendations, the majority of which are slight and are also admitted into Leo's

text. In addition upwards of 160 lines are marked as corrupt and left in many cases meaningless. In the *editio maior* these, as well as others which should be accepted without emendation, are changed. In Leo's edition the obelus occurs but 29 times, the remaining 130 lines having been emended either by the admission of the emendations of other scholars, many of which are very good, or by Leo's own changes. Some of the latter are the following: 5. *meliozem me quidem*. Sch. (ed. maior) *meo ore aio equidem*; L. *scio rem quidem*, which helps the sense but little and is paleographically difficult. 10. *Athenis tracto ita ut hoc est proscaenium*. Sch. *Athenas traloco*, which is the sense desired, but introduces a new word; L. *Athenis mutabo*, which is doubtful Latin. Perhaps *Athenas tracto* may be defended (or is *traicio* better?). 29. Bücheler's *supplicia danda for sui perclamanda* is the best emendation yet proposed, and is rightly admitted by Leo. 33. *aut ara aut vinum* etc. Sch. *auctarium orat*, which is right only so far as some form of *orare* is used; Bücheler's *lact orat aut* is very doubtful; Leo's suggestion *aut <poscit> carnem aut* is improbable. 40. Leo's *itidem si amator id for itidem est amator sed* is very happy. 57. *atque haec celamus nos clamma* (BC, *damna* LZ) *industria*. Sch. *celamus clam omnis summa industria*, which makes good sense, but is violent; Leo's *celamus nos clam magna industria* is very likely, supported as it is by Cas. 45 *magna industria* and Vid. 42 *minima industria*. How *magna* could corrupt into *mina* it is, however, difficult to see, whereas it could easily have come from *minima*, which we do not want. 158. *male quae in nos illis*. Sch. *male quoi non vis*, after Bücheler; L. *male quae in nos vis*. The change of construction in the line he defends by reference to Bac. 463, and the omission of *dicere* by reference to Asin. 354 and Capt. 238 (Brix). The *apparatus criticus* is filled with similar references showing a very complete mastery of Plautus' diction, and thus forms a valuable aid to the study of the text. 450. *sum cruciantque*. L. *sumus cruciamurque*, which makes good sense, but is too violent. 462. *nisi astute*. Sch. *nisi astu docte*; L. happily *nisi astu totam*. 513. *ubi illa est quae me hic reliquit eapse abisti*. Sch. strangely *eapse favea ubist?* Leo cleverly *eapse abiit? ubist?* 570. *hoc saltem servat mecum illi sub este apparet*. Sch. *hoc saltem servat: moecho sublecta apparet*; L. *hoc saltem: rem servat nec ulli ubi sit apparet*, which is not convincing. 619. *quid nunc ergo hic odiose es* (CD, *odios sees* B) *confessus omnibus teus*. Sch., with singular infelicity, *quid nunc ergo hic odio senio's? res confessast omnibus*; L. *odiosu's* (not new), *confessus omnino reus* (*reus* Scioppius). *Omnibus* is defensible linguistically, but Leo's *omnino* saves the metre. 629. *adere* of Leo for *nisi abo* is good, as is also his acceptance of Geppert's *dum*. 775. *ego tibi male dicam aut tibi ad te male velim*. Sch. *aut tibipte*; Leo *tibique aut*, which is difficult to construe; the passage still needs treatment. 793. *iam livorem utest* CD, *livore mutē* B. Cam. *livorem tute*, rightly accepted by Spengel and Schoell; Leo's *livorem verbo* makes a better construction for *istoc*, but is too violent. 836. *vide* (CD, *videm* B) *quesomnem facias iniuriam*. Sch. *vide quaeso magnam ne*; Leo, much better, *vide in quaestione ne*. 842. *quidem istam rem*. L. cleverly *qui admisti eam rem*. 878. *quando procures habes*. Leo very happily *quando quor cures habes*.

The remaining chapters of the *Plautinische Forschungen* are of great interest, but do not affect the treatment of the text, and hence may be very briefly touched upon. In the second chapter, 'Das Leben des Plautus,' Leo

tries to show that we know nothing either of the life of Plautus or his name. The anecdotes of his life are not genuine, and as to his name, we have no reason to call him aught but *Plautus*, though that was a nickname. *Maccius* is but the name of his profession, and *T* has no authority. The third chapter is devoted to the discussion of Plautus' relation to his originals, the fourth chapter to the Prologues, which Leo holds to be in the main genuine.

GONZALEZ LODGE.

C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus. Edited with historical introduction, commentary, appendices and indices by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, M. A., late Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Macmillan & Co., New York, 1896. 8vo, 215 pp. \$2.75.

The main object of this edition is historical. "My chief desire," says the editor, "has been to illustrate the work of Suetonius by putting before the reader, as fully as space would permit, the materials which exist for constructing the history of the life and times of Augustus and which expand and explain the necessarily brief and summarized statements in the Biography itself." Less attention, therefore, is given to points of text and style than is perhaps usual in an ordinary commentary to a classical author. But such notes on these subjects as occur, though brief, are generally luminous and instructive. The text is mainly that of Roth (Leipzig, 1890).

The preface contains a brief account of the style of Suetonius, in which due emphasis is laid upon the individuality of it. Following is a short list of the principal editions, of monographs devoted to the style and diction of Suetonius, and of works on the life of Augustus. In the latter I am somewhat surprised not to see V. Gardthausen's 'Augustus und seine Zeit,' Leipzig, 1891 ff. This certainly would be 'found useful.'

The introduction deals with—1, the authorities for the life and reign of Augustus and the rise and development of the principate; 2, the life and writings of Suetonius; 3, his authorities for the life of Augustus; followed by, 4, a few remarks on some special points of text-criticism, and, pp. xxxvii–xliv, a chronological table of the principal events during the life of Augustus.

Pages 1–176 contain the text and commentary, which seems to be well fitted for the purpose intended, being carefully written, with references to authorities bearing upon the points in question and with reproductions of some of the most important coins of the period. Beyond the small number mentioned in the introduction, no MSS readings are given. To the list of *errata* might be added *Gell.* 13 instead of *Galba*, 13, p. 147, first column, second line from the bottom.

Especially valuable and important is Appendix A, pp. 177–95, which contains the text of the Monumentum Ancyranum, with a brief introduction on the history of it, former editions, etc. Appendix B, pp. 197–200, is both novel and useful. It is in the nature of an excursus on Suet. Iulius, 88, being, so far as is now possible, a complete list of the assassins of Julius Caesar. Under each name is given the political history and manner of death, with full references to the ancient authorities. The book ends with a table of the family and connections of Augustus, followed by the indices.

Prof. Shuckburgh's work, curiously enough the first in connection with Suetonius by an English scholar, is a welcome addition to our knowledge of one who, in some respects, is an unusually difficult author. As a biographer, and especially as a biographer with his peculiar methods of composition, Suetonius, above all other Latin writers, seems to stand in need of just the sort of enlightenment that the editor has given him. In no case, perhaps, is this so evident as in the biography selected. By a curious fatality the two greatest of the Roman emperors, Augustus and Trajan, happen to be the very ones about whom we, in some respects, know the least. There is no Roman emperor of whom so many anecdotes are still preserved, but nothing in ancient authorities bridges the chasm between Octavianus the triumvir and Augustus the emperor. Here the narrative of Suetonius is conspicuously silent.

KIRBY F. SMITH.

REPORTS.

ARCHIV FÜR LATEINISCHE LEXIKOGRAPHIE UND GRAMMATIK. Fünfter Jahrgang.¹

Pp. 1-15. Under the title 'Kleidung und Wohnung im Sprichwort,' A. Otto continues his studies of proverbs. These refer chiefly to the primitive conditions of life, uninfluenced by luxury or change of fashion. The lack of any reference to the head-dress is, of course, due to the limited use of hats.

Pp. 16-32. Albrecht Köhler summarizes the various etymologies of *ecce*, and treats at length of its use. The view of Georges and others (*ecce* = *en. ce*), of Ribbeck (*ec* = **eque* found in *ecquis*, etc., i. e. *ecce* = *e-que-ce*), of Corssen (the *e* of *e-ecce* a form of the dem. *i*), of Vanček (an imper. of the root *ak*), are not regarded entirely satisfactory. It is a deictic exclamation meaning 'look!' 'look there!' 'there!' and is a feature of the *sermo familiaris*. It is lacking in the fragments of the Roman historians, in Caes., Val. Max., Suet.; occurs once in Sall., three times in Liv., once in Curt.; in Tac. only Dial. 3. 17, in Amm. once; in epic poetry occasionally. In comedy it is usually combined with some demonstrative form, as *eccum*, *eccillum*, etc., with a preference for the third person. But out of the thirty examples in which the simpler form occurs in Plaut., strangely enough half are with the first person.

Autem unites readily with *ecce*, and in Ter. there is only one instance (Ad. 995) of the simple form *ecce* with which *autem* is not attached. The only instance of *ecce* in Sall. (Jug. 14, 11) is in union with *autem*. Verg. is the last author to use this combination frequently—ten times in all. The other poets of the Augustan period, and prose-writers as well, avoid it, though Ovid, e. g., uses *ecce* alone some eighty times. The rare use in later poets is in evident imitation of Verg.

The development of *sed ecce* is somewhat different. *Ecce* in connection with a dem. (*eccum*, etc.) occurs with *sed* in Plaut. about fifty times, and usually in announcing the approach of some one; in Ter., eight times. In the later period, with the exception of a few instances in Cic., this usage vanishes until we reach the tragedies of Seneca.

The compound forms *eccum*, *eccam*, etc., are restricted almost entirely to the archaic period, and are found only in the acc. The few passages apparently showing the nom. (Plaut. Men. 180, Stich. 536 and Ter. Eun. 79) have been emended. In Ter. we find no forms compounded with *ille* and *iste*. The compound forms, in accordance with their derivation, *ecce-eum*, etc., were properly used with the third person, but in the popular language they sometimes assumed the more general meaning of *ecce* and occurred with other persons, as in Heaut. 829, *eccum me*.

¹ The summaries of the Archiv, which have been suspended since A. J. P., vol. VIII, p. 363, are herewith resumed, with a welcome promise of continuance.—B. L. G.

Pp. 33-48. 'Satur und die davon abgeleiteten Wörter.' A. Funck. Formerly printed as a program, Kiel, 1888. The derivation uncertain. In the early period generally applied to men, and in its later use almost wholly to animals. Only thirteen places where *satur* does not mean *cibo plenus* are mentioned, and but two of these distinctly mean *ebrius*. The construction with the gen. is rare. The substantivized form occurs in proper names, as *Satur* and *Saturus*. The feminine form is found in the phrase *per saturam*, and *in saturam* in all periods. The early form *satura* became *satira* after the analogy of *maxumus*—*maximus*, etc., where the change is due to the labials. Then follows treatment of *saturitas*, *saturare*, etc.

P. 48. Note by Havet on the subj. gen. (*Laus alicuius*), and by Schmitz on 'Interemo, Peremo und Zugehöriges.'

Pp. 49-55. A careful study of all the meanings of *Litteratura* by Wölfflin, who finds the modern meaning 'literature' occurring perhaps in Vittr. VI, Praef. 6, and certainly in Tert. de Spect. 17 and afterwards, a meaning not recognized by Georges.

Pp. 56-88. A full treatment of the 'Substantiva personalia auf o, onis.' R. Fisch.

Pp. 89-106. A lexical article on 'Abominabilis—abortus.' H. Ploen.

P. 106. A note on 'Quarranta' by Wölfflin, and on 'Ambagio' by Nettleship.

Pp. 107-24. Two lexical articles by Wölfflin: one on 'Abolefacio—abolla,' the other 'Aborbuto, Abpatruus—abrenuntio,' and a note on 'Abietalis.'

Pp. 125-32. A continuation of Gröber's 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter,' from *Qua(d)raginta* to *rasc(u)lare*.

Pp. 133-44. Miscellen: 'Zur Geschichte der Hauskatze,' Sittl.—'Medus, mattiobarbulus, motum,' and 'Zahladverbia auf iens,' Stowasser.—'Scobere, scopere, scrobere,' and 'Romanisches bei Cassian,' Petschenig.—'Angiportum,' Landgraf.—'Theotiscus,' Cramer.—'Animabilis, offocare (effocare) und pulsus,' Hauler.—'Impensa = Mörtel,' H.—'Zu Commodian,' Thielmann.—'Per omnia,' Wölfflin.

Pp. 145-53. Review of the literature of 1887-88.

Pp. 161-91. 'Substantivische Parataxen.' Gustav Landgraf. The author refers to all such repetitions as *vir virum legit*, *vir cum viro congreditur*, which he resolves into two classes: those in which the relation of parataxis is expressed by case, and those by prepositions, as in the above examples. All instances of the first class are treated under four divisions corresponding to the four oblique cases: Gen. *neque aqua aquae neque lactes lactis unquam similis*, Plaut. Men. 1089; Dat. *ratio rationi par est*, Sen. Ep. 66, 32; Acc. *lapis lapidem terit*, Plaut. Asin. 31; Abl. *castris castra conferre*, Enn. Trag. 140 R., and often. Those of the second class include instances either with one preposition, *manu ad manum*, or with two, *a terra in terram*.

P. 191. 'Nachtrag zu S. 140,' Landgraf; and a note on *Pipinna* = *parva mentula* by Stowasser.

Pp. 192-222. An article on 'Die lateinischen Adjektiva auf *osus*' by Schoenwerth; revised and enlarged by Weyman. The authors attempt to treat by classes of the derivation and meaning of the 844 (Paucker) and more adjectives of this type. The early form in *-onsus* is very rare except in *formonsus*. Both inscriptions and MSS offer a few instances in *-ossus*, and a few also in *-unsus* and *-usus*. Most of these adjectives are formed from substantives, and those in Cicero are almost exclusively of this kind.

Forms in *-osus* are sometimes made from adj. stems, but only *bellicosus*, *ebriosus* and *tenebricosus* belong to the class. per. In a few instances the primitive is also a verb. Various irregular formations are explained, and in some cases the authors take issue with Paucker (Vorarb. z. lat. Sprachgesch. 72-92), e. g. *ambiti(on)osus*. *Dignitosus* is from *dignitas*, rather than *dignus* with *it* interjected (Paucker). The large number of words with an *i* in the stem (*gloriosus*, etc.) produced by analogy a few such forms as *curiosus* with *i* inserted. Likewise some adjectives like *mortuosus* are formed with a spurious *u* after the analogy of primitives of the fourth decl. in *-tus* and *-sus*. *Febri-cosus*, etc., are formed after the analogy of *tenebricosus*, *bellicosus*, etc. The occasional forms with primitive suffix *-in*, *-it* and *-ig* are considered. These adjectives are formed from verbs of the first, second, and third conjugation by dropping the thematic vowel and inf. ending (*re*), and adding *-osus*; e. g. *fluosus*. In verbs of the fourth conj. the inf. ending alone is dropped, *blandi-osus*. The development of *-osus* is represented thus: *lumin-vant-io-s*, *luminon-tios*, *luminonsus*, *luminosus* [the authors strangely writing the vowel *a* in *-vant* for the generally accepted I. E. *e* (*-vent*, *-unt*)]. The meaning is 'abounding in': *rimosus* (Hor.) = *plenus rimarum* (Ter.), and the adj. in *-osus* is paralleled in all periods by the substantive with *plenus*. A secondary meaning corresponding to the Grk. *-ωδης* and *-ειδης* is also not uncommon, as in *cadaverosa facies* (Ter.). A goodly number of abstract nouns in *-tas*, like *muleriositas*, were added by Cicero and later writers.

The meaning of these adj. was sometimes softened by a dim. suffix, as in *formonsula* (Varro), and sometimes strengthened or weakened by preps. (*ex*, *prae*, *per*, *sub*, etc.). Illogical is the use of a negative prefixed to these adjectives. Nevertheless such combinations as *inofficiosus* occur. The article closes with a glance at this suffix in the Romance languages, and a list of the two hundred words treated.

P. 222. Note on 'Superuentor' by Funck, and on 'Angustator' by Nettleship.

Pp. 223-33. Additional remarks by Meyer on 'Das lateinische Suffix *o*, *onis*.' Cf. pp. 56-88.

Pp. 234-42. Continuation of Gröber's treatise on the 'Vulgärlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter,' from *reburrus* to *rutiliare*.

P. 242. Note on 'Cultor' by Funck.

Pp. 243-53. 'Abrepticus—abripio,' with elucidations by H. Ploen.

Pp. 254-63. 'Abrodo—abrotonum,' with special note on *abrogare*. J. H. Schmalz.

P. 263. Another instance of cognomen *Saturus* is given by Funck, and in Verg. Cul. 140 Robinson Ellis would read *fleta cupressus* instead of *laeta cupressus*.

Pp. 264-76. 'Abrumpo—abruptus,' with special comment on *abrumbo* by the editor.

P. 276. Note showing that Osthoff in Arch. IV 455 ff. had been anticipated in his explanation of adverbs in *-ter*.

Pp. 277-85. Lexical article on 'abscedo' by Miodoński.

P. 285. Exception is taken by Stolz to Stowasser's derivation of *vicies* from *dui-decies*.

Pp. 286-96. Miscellen: 'Tormenta,' Brandt.—'Discipulus,' Stowasser.—'Solarium und Maenianum,' Sittl.—'Grandiusculus, grandiculus,' Hauler.—'Circa, circum,' Wölflin.

Pp. 297-313. Review of the literature of 1887-88.

Pp. 314-18. Nekrologe: Prof. Otto Arnold Friedrich Gerber, the Tacitean scholar, and Dr. Joh. Nep. Ott.

Pp. 321-68. 'Die zusammengesetzten Präpositionen im Lateinischen.' Carl Hamp. The author first calls attention to the use of compound prepositions in Greek and the Germanic languages, and among those mentioned for English are '*about*,' '*intu*.' In Latin such compound forms are a mark of the *sermo familiaris*. They occur in the writings of Plaut., Enn., Cat., etc., and a few receive the sanction of classical prose. A few new forms are introduced in silver Latin, and many arise in the following periods, particularly in the writers who imitate the archaic, and in the writings of the Church Fathers. These compound forms arise in the popular language for the sake of emphasis and for greater distinctness and clearness. In many cases the new form gives rise to a new meaning. Some of the compounds are made on Greek models, and, in the late period, some are formed mechanically without apparent reason. In a few instances like *circumcirca* the prepositions are similar in meaning, but in a great majority of cases the meaning is different, and the first preposition a monosyllable and usually of local signification. The most common prefix is *de*. In some cases the compound prepositions retain throughout their prepositional meaning, but more frequently they are also used as adverbs. As most simple prepositions were originally adverbs, likewise these compound forms were generally employed as adverbs at first and gradually became prepositions. The usual rule that the second preposition is the governing one will not hold, for many, if not more, instances occur of the case depending on the first. The number of compounds with prepositional meaning is fewer than those used as adverbs. With the exception of *desub* there were no pure prepositions formed of monosyllables until late. The various compounds—some seventy-odd in number—are considered individually in reference to form, origin, use, and meaning.

P. 368. Stolz in a note takes exception to the derivation of *-osus* from *-oventio*, which he inexactly attributes to Schönworth-Weyman (p. 193), and

approves rather of Osthoff's view, from **ovenss-o*, **o-vent-to* (*o-unt-to*) as *defensu-m* from *defend-to*.

Pp. 369-86. In this number A. Otto continues his treatment of proverbs under the heading 'Familie und Freundschaft im Sprichwort.' In some instances the idea of the proverb appears in a variety of forms; e. g. Cic. Or. 10, 33, *sed nihil difficile amanti puto*; Verg. Ecl. 10, 69, *Omnia vincit amor*; Plin. Ep. IV 19, 4, *sed amor, qui magister est optimus*; Hieron. Ep. 22, 40, *Nihil amantibus durum est*; ib. Ep. 17, 1, *quia caritas omnia superat*.

Pp. 387-98. 'Id genus und Verwandtes.' Wölfflin. A systematic attempt to trace the development of this idiom throughout the literature. The accs. *id genus* and *hoc genus* are limited to Lucil. in early Latin, and to Varro in the classical and silver Latin, with few exceptions; Cic. Att. 13, 12, 3; Liv. 1, 8, 3; Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 44; and possibly Plin. N. H. 3, 114; common in late Latin. Varro uses this expression not only in apposition with the nom. and acc., but also with the abl. *Quod genus* occurs somewhat more frequently in the better period of the literature, but always restricted to the nom. and acc. *Quid genus* and *omne genus* were less common. *Idem, illud, istud, aliud genus* and the like never occur. The substitutes for the various expressions are also mentioned.

P. 398. A defence of *Defioculus* in Mart. 12, 59, 9 by Emil Renn.

Pp. 399-414. 'Quatenus.' Wölfflin. The uses of *quatenus* are considered respectively as a local, temporal, causal, final, and consecutive particle, as equivalent to *quomodo*, and to introduce a clause in place of acc. and inf. It is a rare word in classical Latin and fails utterly in early Latin, in Varr., Caes., Sall., Verg., Sen. Rhet., Luc., Stat. and others. Only the local meaning occurs in Vitruv., Col., the Elder Pliny, and the Script. Gromatici.

P. 414. 'Glossae nominum. Nonius, p. 91.' Nettleship.

Pp. 415-37. 'Die Adjektiva auf -*icius*.' Wölfflin. A thorough-going treatment of these adjectives in regard to their derivation, meaning and extent in the literature. There are two classes: those in which *ic* belongs to the stem and those in which it is a part of the suffix. It is the latter class that comes particularly within the scope of this article. This may be resolved into two: denominatives with short *i* (*aedilicius*), and adjs. with long *i* derived from the perfect pass. part. (*commenticius*). The four adjectives derived from present stem according to Paucker (Vorarb. z. lat. Sprachgesch., Berl. 1884) permit of another explanation, e. g. *peticius* : *petiticius* :: *fastidium* : *fastitidium*. The denominatives formed from *i* and *o*-stems were earlier than those from *a*-stems—the latter not found before Petron. 45. 4, *lanisticia*. Those from dental stems are rare, and later than those from *r*-stems. The meaning of -*icius* was originally 'appertaining' or 'belonging to,' though various shades were developed.

The adjs. of participial origin are as 2 : 1 in frequency in comparison with the denominatives. The meaning was closely related to that of the participle. For example, *dediticius* : *deditus* :: *libertinus* : *libertus* (= *liberatus*). Sometimes they correspond in meaning to adjectives in -*ivus*, which were likewise derived from perf. parts. These adjs. of passive formation became also active in sense, and were used like present active participles.

These adjs. were very rare in poetry outside of Plaut., although well suited in form for hexameter. The author therefore would see in them the characteristics of the *sermo familiaris*. In the index are starred many words not mentioned by Georges.

Pp. 438-52. 'Usque als selbstständiges Adverb.' Thielmann. *Usque*, derived from *ubs* for **ubis*, originally meant 'wo irgend wie,' i. e. 'on all points,' 'everywhere,' and the action or condition described is represented as extending from one point in a direct line to another. The idea of continuity is essential, though the end points need not be stated. The original local meaning of *usque* is, however, very rare, and it was used chiefly in a temporal sense, meaning 'without interruption,' 'continually.' *Semper* is a common synonym. *Usque* applies to time as a continuous line, *semper* (*sem-per*) includes the idea of space; *usque* expresses advancement in time, *semper* a permanent condition. *Usque sequi* means 'to follow continuously,' *semper sequi* 'to follow every time.' The characteristic tense for *usque* is the future, for *semper* the perfect (or the present).

The temporal meaning is clearest in which the extent of time is expressed, e. g. *vixit tris usque per annos*. *Usque* meaning 'continuously' occurs with verbs of motion, and also with verbs expressing a passive state (*esse*), or a state of activity (*florere, tenere*); thus often nearly equivalent to *per-* in composition. In the *sermo familiaris* arose the use of *usque* with verbs in which it could not have the original meaning 'continuously, in a direct line' except as a sort of hyperbole; so with verbs of giving, kissing, and verbs expressing sound. Thus *usque* approached the distributive sense of *semper*. This usage and the exigencies of poetry brought about frequent confusion with *semper* from the Augustan period on. From laying special emphasis on reaching the terminus, the idea 'sufficiency,' 'completely' arose (= *satis*), and from stress on the idea of continuity arose the meaning 'orderly,' 'properly,' 'very' (= *probe, valde*); these are termed the modal use and occur as early as Plautus.

Pp. 453-86. A continuation of Gröber's article on the 'Vulgarlateinische Substrate romanischer Wörter,' from *sabanum* to *suus*.

P. 486. A note on the form of 'Ardalio' by K. E. Georges.

Pp. 487-99. 'Pseudo-Cyprianus (Victor) de aleatoribus.' Wölfflin. A cursory treatment of the forms, language, title, date, and text of this tract erroneously connected with the name of Cyprian. It was apparently written by an African after the time of Cyprian, and exhibits the features of popular Latin and the breaking down of the language.

Pp. 500-7. Lexical article from *Abscedo* to *Abscessus*, by Miodoński.

P. 507. A note on the Italian word *Stima* = *fama*, occurring as early as the 10th century. Karl Wotke.

Pp. 508-19. 'Absdo—absocer,' with elucidations on *absimilis* and *absistere*. Wölfflin.

P. 519. 'Nachtragliches zu Maeniana' (cf. Arch. V 290). Wilhelm Brandes

Pp. 520-33. 'Abscidio—abscisus,' with special comment on *abscido* and *abscindo*. Fürtner.

Pp. 534-9. 'Abscondite—absconsor' by Thielmann, and a note on *anculus* by A. Funck.

Pp. 540-64. Lexical article on 'Absoluo' by Ploen, and a note on *compastoralis* by Hauler.

Pp. 565-81. Miscellen: 'Utrumque als Adverbium,' 'Amare facio,' and 'Candebrum,' Hausleiter.—'Zu donicum, donec, doneque, donique, dunc,' Zimmermann.—'Noch einmal die Verba auf -issare und -izare,' A. Funck.—'Zu Caesars Fortsetzern,' H. Schiller.—'Zu den Zahladverbien auf -eins,' Thurneysen.—'Ueber eine eigentümliche Wortstellung bei inquit,' and 'Reflexives proripere und miscere,' Petschenig.—'Increbrare,' Hauler.—'Zum sogenannten ὑστερον πρότερον,' Hauler.—'Inire,' Havet.—'Discipulus,' Bréal.—'Vulgärlateinisches aus den Rechtsquellen,' H. Suchier.—'Der euphemistische Gebrauch von pacare,' Wölflin.

Pp. 582-606. Review of the literature of 1887-88.

Pp. 606-9. Nekrologe: Emil Bachrens and Karl Hermann Ronsch.

E. M. PEASE.

HERMES, XXX (1895).

E. Meyer, *Der Ursprung des Tribunats*. The statements of the annalists regarding the origin of the tribunes and the tribes are mere hypotheses. The nucleus of the Roman state was not the 'Servian' city, which belongs to the period of the Samnite wars, but the earliest republican city of the four *regiones*. Here dwelt the owners of the neighboring farms, the artisans and the rest, organized into four tribes. The original four (not two) tribunes were the leaders of these tribes, chosen by them, not by the *curiae*, and bearing to the *plebs* the relation of patron to client. Even later their jurisdiction was really confined to the *pomerium*. Their number was perhaps increased to ten, when the country people were enfranchised and enrolled in tribes. The secessions of the *plebs* in 494 and 449 have no historical foundation, and the *mons sacer*, Verginia and the other details are pure inventions. The parable of Menenius Agrippa is an old story referred arbitrarily to 494.

J. Vahlen, *Varia*, XLII, holds that Porphyrio on Hor. Sat. I 6. 41 refers to the life prefixed to his commentary; XLIII defends Cic. de rep. I 36. 56 *qui ut ait totum Olympum Homerus converteret*, and cites III 10. 17, besides Caesar, Petronius, Plato, etc., for interjected *inquit* or ἐφη; XLIV defends *nunc quod in eadem* in Caes. B. G. VI 24. 4, explains *in* as causal, and upholds the use of *Germani* in the relative clause by citing V 4. 1, 6. 1, etc.; XLV defends ἄλλως τε . . . ἄτε δὴ in D. Chrys. 12. 28 by comparing §32, and shows that ἄλλως τε often means ἄλλως τε καὶ in Chrys.; XLVI defends *lacti fluentem . . . ostendant* in Sen. de prov. 4. 4 by connecting *lacti* with *meliore casu*, and cites other cases of trajection in Seneca.

H. Joachim, *Die Ueberlieferung über Jesus' letztes Mahl*. Mark is the oldest and best authority for the Last Supper, and Matthew follows the same source, with a few additions. John is the first to name the traitor, the others

presume that he is well known. Luke alters the tradition to suit the later belief that this was the passover meal, whereas it was really eaten the day before the feast. Paul differs radically from the gospels, for he is the first to indicate that Jesus established a rite. He also develops the idea that Jesus' death secured forgiveness of sins to mankind, a later apostolic theory first advanced by Matthew (v. 28). Peter was not the source of Mark, but of Paul.

E. Ziebarth, *Der Fluch im griechischen Recht*. The curse of the gods protected not only sacred property and the observances of religion, but also the natural obligations of man to man and even the state and its laws. It was prescribed as a penalty throughout the Greek world, but especially in the islands and Asia Minor. It was preserved from earlier times by the power of conservatism.

G. Kaibel, *Kratinos' 'Οδυσσῆς und Euripides' Kyklops*. The former play opens on the seashore with a chorus of Odysseus' companions. After a drinking bout with Polyphemus, the chorus go to the cave and their place is taken by an ἀντιχορία of twelve Kyklopes; when the 'Οδυσσῆς return, the ἀγών begins and the Kyklopes perhaps defend an absolute monarchy, while the Greeks uphold democracy. Then follows the blinding and the flight, and the parabasis ends the play. The close similarity of the close of the Kyklops to the end of the Hecuba shows that the Hecuba borrowed from the Kyklops. A comparison of 417 ff. with Alc. 756 and the weakness of Odysseus' rhetoric (283 ff.) make it probable that the Kyklops is also earlier than the Alceste (438), though later than the 'Οδυσσῆς. Aeschylus' Διονύσου τροφοί was a satyr-drama with a double chorus of satyrs and nymphs, whom Medea rejuvenates when Dionysus returns from his wanderings.

Th. Mommsen, *Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule*. The letter of Marcus Aurelius to the senate, on which the historians depend, is not spurious. They date the prodigy 174, and the column was not erected till after the emperor's death, so that the many events recorded make the prodigy seem further back than it really is. The confirmation of the *imperatoris acclamatio* by the senate is not improbable (cf. Tac. Ann. I 58), when we remember Marcus' moderation. The representation on the column is less full than Dio's account, but not inconsistent with it. The prodigy was an answer to the prayers of the emperor and his army, not of the Christians alone. The connection with the twelfth legion is a pure fiction.

P. Viereck, *Quittungen aus Karanis über Lieferung von Saatkorn*. These are contained in an Egyptian papyrus at Berlin dated 158/9 A. D. The headings were written by the clerk of the *αιτολόγοι* and the rest filled out by each farmer. They show that an ἀρτάβη of grain was reckoned to an ἀρουρα of land, and that Karanis was a centre of distribution for three great plains.

G. Thiele, *Anaximenea*. The τέχνη under Anaximenes' name is probably not his. The whole work is made up of fragments of earlier treatises, put together with little care, so that we find false definitions of ἀστείονος (22) and σύνθεσις ὀνομάτων (23) among other errors. The style abounds in repetitions and the transitions are defective. The author was not a sophist, but a λογογράφος, lacking Attic grace, unscrupulous, superstitious. Interpolations

are detected in νόμος 90. 17 (Sp.), ἔλεος 77. 1, παρέχειν 26. 11; in 64. 8 read οἶον λείπε λόγον μύμημα.

C. Robert, Nochmals das Plato-Relief. This cannot be a family group nor a grave-relief. The bad perspective of the chair-arm, the use of the rug with the cushion, and other details point to its modern origin. The artist has put a Plato head on a copy of the Vatican Menander, and the drapery of all the figures is awkward and inconsistent.

Fr. Krebs, Metiochos und Parthenope, publishes a Greek papyrus fragment from the British Museum containing a novel written from dictation in a provincial dialect. Kaibel and Robert append a restoration of the document.

Miscellen.—U. Wilcken. Two recent papyri show the use of an era dating from the κράτησις of *Caesar divi filius*, which was the conquest of Alexandria, Aug. 1, 30 B. C.—R. Herzog. The claim of Kos to be the birthplace of Leto (Herond. II 98, Tac. Ann. XII 61) was first advanced by the Asklepiads in order to outdo Epidaurus and Delos.—C. Robert. The Tyskiewicz vase in Fröhner, Pl. 12, is proved spurious by the faulty presentation of the myth, by the modern gestures, and by the drapery of Phrixos, which exposes the left arm and covers the right (cf. Ar. Av. 1567).

M. Wellmann, Leonidas von Byzanz und Demonstratos. Aelian's treatment of fishes is not taken from Oppian, but both used Leonidas (flor. 100 B. C.), who was also a source of Ovid. Leonidas read Aristophanes' epitome, not Aristotle himself. Aelian also borrows from Demonstratos, who was independent of Aristotle and fond of the marvellous.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Herkunft der Magneten am Maeander. They were related to the Macedonians and settled in Thessaly; they emigrated to Crete and from there to Asia. They were crowded out of Ephesus into the valley of the Lethaeus, and lost all remembrance of their language and their heroes. Their gods are hellenized barbarians, they have no real connection with Apollo, and the inscription published by Kern records a mere fiction of later origin.

B. Keil, Der Perieget Heliodoros von Athen, publishes and discusses fragments of this author preserved in the Vitae X Orat., Pliny, the lexicographers, etc. These show that he was also an antiquarian, and gave full and accurate descriptions of the condition and situation of the monuments, arranged according to persons or families. He often preserves important inscriptions. The decrees in the Vita Dem. 847 A are all from Heliodoros, not Kraterus. The latter was a pupil of Aristotle, and his συναγωγή contained only documents of the fifth century. 844 A is from Hermippus, 842 F from Caecilius. In Pliny, only XXXIV 76 and possibly XXXIV 74 and XXXV 134 are from Heliodoros. He may have been the source of the δημόπρατα cited by Pollux in the Hermokopidae affair. Heliodoros probably wrote in fifteen books on the monuments of Athens, περὶ ἀκροπόλεως being the first, περὶ μνημείων the third, and others περὶ ἀναθημάτων and περὶ τριπόδων. The decrees, didascalia and historical explanations were contained in excursuses.

E. Meyer, *Der Ursprung des Odysseusmythus*. The oldest part of the *Odyssey* is λ 25-48, 84-104, 121-224, with the *Kyklopeia*, the beginning of ν and the recognition in ψ. This was told by Odysseus to the Thesprotians, but his true home was in Arcadia (cf. Paus. VIII 14. 5, 44. 4). Here Penelope, too, was honored as the mother of Pan and was perhaps identical with Artemis. Odysseus is only an epithet of Poseidon, 'the angry,' and *πολύπορος* suits the god better than the hero. The *Nekyia* is only another version of the idea that gods die as well as men. Ithaca appears as the farthest land visible from Arcadia (cf. ι 21 ff.), so it was like an 'island of the blest' to the mountaineers, a fit home for the god. The *Kirke epos*, which, like the *Kalypso lay*, is only a repetition of the idea of the *Nekyia*, is next in age and was developed in Ionia parallel with the Argonaut myth.—*Todtendienst und Heroencult.* Among the Greeks, as among the Egyptians, Hebrews and Arabs, the dead are shadowy and unreal, and the offerings were suggested by affection, not by any fear of their power. Hero-worship originated in the displacement of local deities by the Olympian system.

H. Graeven publishes and comments on a fragment of Lachares. This defends the ancient custom of using metrical feet in prose, but its own prologue follows the more modern rule that two unaccented syllables should precede the last accent of the kolon. Lachares thus occupies middle ground between the old and new systems of rhetoric. The fragment contains long extracts from Dionysius and Hermogenes.

F. Blass, *Die Danae des Simonides*. This is a complete poem, but is not strophic. It is a dithyramb like the *Europa* and *Memnon* (cf. Hor. Od. I 15, III 27). The situation was explained by a *ὑπόθεσις*, as in tragedy.

Th. Mommsen, *Armenische Handschriften der Chronik des Eusebios*. A comparison of the errors in GNE shows that GN were copied from E after its mutilation, N being more exact than G.

P. Stengel, *Zu den attischen Ephebeninschriften*. *ἤρανον τοὺς βοῦς τῇ θυσίᾳ* in CIA. II 467, l. 10, etc., does not mean that men carried oxen on their shoulders, for the gods received only willing victims, and the absence of *ταῦροι* excludes any idea of a bull-fight. We have merely a different term for the usual *ἀνερθεῖν* (*ἀνελεῖν*, γ 448) of the sacrifice.

A. Hoeck, *Der Eintritt der Mündigkeit nach attischem Recht*. Ar. Rep. Ath. 42 states that an Athenian reached his majority at the end of his eighteenth year. We may reconcile the data of Demosthenes' life (Dem. 27. 4, 6) with this statement, if we assume that he was born about June 384, lost his father about May 376, and attained citizenship in June 366.

W. Stroottmann, *Der Sieg über den Alamannen im Jahre 268*. Since Aurelius Victor (34. 2) alone mentions this event, Duncker refers the VICTOR. GERMAN. on coins to a victory of Aurelian in 270. But the title Germanicus borne by Claudius as early as 269 (Rev. Arch. 38. 120) confirms the statement of Victor.

J. Vahlen, *Varia*, XLVII, defends *ὀλίγων δὲ τινων ἐν αὐτοῖς* in Galen, Protrep. I, p. 18 Kaib.; XLVIII defends the passages bracketed by Arnim in D. Chrys.

12. 84, 13. 9, 7. 98, and cites many cases of similar repetition in the relative clause.—In Minuc. Fel. Oct. 19. 4 *Eo altior . . . traditum* refers to Genes. 1. 2 and should read *Esto altior*, where *esto* is concessive. It was written *eo*, hence the corruption. The defence of this passage strengthens the other O. T. reference in Minucius (34. 5).

G. Wentzel, Zu den atticistischen Glossen bei Photios. Photius, in his treatment of Atticisms, used the lexicons of Pausanias and Dionysius of Halikarnassus. To the former belong the explanation of proverbs and comments on religion and law, to the latter the unexplained proverbs, stylistic and grammatical comments, and passages where *Ἴωνες* are contrasted with good usage, or *Ἑλληνες* cited instead of *Ἀττικοί* to support some rule. An examination of the glosses on Thukydides shows that they all come from Dionysius.

J. Toepffer, Das attische Gemeindebuch. The *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* was not a list of men eligible to office, for it included ephebi, but of all the citizens, those possessing (*ἄρχειν*) the right of inheritance (*ληξίς*; cf. Aesch. 1. 103, Harpok. s. v.). The *ληξιαρχοί*, too, had nothing to do with elections, but were the custodians of this record. *ληξίς* also came to be synonymous with *ἡλικία*, the ages (18 to 60) under which the citizens were enrolled. All family rights were controlled by the state, Athens had no *ius privatum*.

M. Schanz, Suetonis Pratum. The *περὶ ἀσφύμων λέξεων*, being in Greek, was no part of the Pratum, and the verborum differentiae was merely a collection of synonyms from Suetonius' works. The *περὶ νομίμων*, de genere vestium, ludicra historia and de anno Romanorum belong to a separate treatise called Roma. The Pratum was made up as follows: Part I. Man. Book 1. The origin of man. 2. The parts of the human body (Reiff., pp. 272, 273). 3. Sickneses (de vitiis corporalibus). 4. The course of human life (Prisc. 8. 21). Part II. Time (Prisc. 8. 20). 5. The century. 6. The year. 7. The month. 8. The day. Part III. Nature. 9. Natural phenomena (Isidor. de nat. 38). 10. Animals (Schol. Bern. Georg. 4. 14). 11. Plants. 12. Minerals. Suetonius probably used Nigidius Figulus, who also has this threefold division. Censorinus is our chief source for Part I, and Isidorus for Part III. Both used Part II, but Censorinus gives fuller and more faithful citations.

G. Kaibel, Sententiarum Liber Septimus. Emendations to Aristophanes, Kratinos, Eupolis and Hermippus. Schol. Ven. ad Ar. Vesp. 1169 refers to the philo-Spartan Amyntas (cf. Ar. Vesp. 463 ff., 1267 ff., Nub. 463 ff.). Hermippus' Iambi and Kratinos' Seriphii were written about 422.

A. Behr, Der amphiloichische Krieg. The inscription in Herm. XXVI 43 does not prove that the Kerkyraean aristocrats took part in this war. If they had done so, the democrats would not have stayed at home in Kerkyra. They must have returned early in 426, before the war which resulted in the complete destruction of their friends. In l. 10 read *ἐπαναστάντων*, referring to some earlier factional strife.

Miscellen.—Th. Mommsen. A new copy of CIL. VIII 979 shows that Attius Varius and Considius were *legati* of Scipio (705-8), and a Lilybaeon inscription mentions L. Plinius as *legatus* of Sex. Pompeius (715-18).—W. Kroll shows the inaccuracy of Müller's text of Pseudo-Kallisthenes by a

collation of BCFLMVW for I 26, p. 27.—F. Blass. Till the fourth century the heathen wrote *Χρηστιανοί*, but the believers (after 100) *Χριστιανοί*. Thus Justin Martyr uses the former in his apologies, but the latter in his *Dialogus* intended for Jews. The Latin *Christiani* originated independently in Rome, perhaps as early as Nero.—H. Graeven. The theoretical part of Nikolaus' *Progymnasmata* is found only in Brit. Mus. II. 889, and may be emended by the scholia to Aphthonius.—B. Keil. *Ar. Rep. Ath.* does not mention the officials of the Oropos territory known from IGS. 3499, 4254, etc., so we can hardly accept *Ἀμφιάραα* in 54. 7 against palaeographic evidence. The *Amphiaraea* came between Metag. 9 and Pyan. 19.—A. B. Drachmann. The stichos numbers published from Cod. Vat. Gr. 138 are obtained by simply counting the lines, not by calculation.—G. V. Thompson. The Athenian army was led by a strategus as early as 610 (Strabo, XIII 38) or 590 (Plut. Solon 11), and by 490 the polemarch had become a mere figure-head. This militates against Keil's emendation of *Ar. Rep. Ath.* 4. 2 in his *Solonische Verfassung*, II 4, N. 1.

U. Wilcken, *Alexandrinische Gesandtschaften vor Kaiser Claudius*, publishes a Berlin papyrus (511) containing a report of the complaints made by the Anti-Semites of Alexandria against Agrippa II before Claudius and Agrippina, 53 A. D. This serves to correct the partisan accounts of Philo and Josephus. Claudius displays his pedantry by allusions to Tarquin and Avilius, son of Romulus. The Paris papyrus (Herm. XXVII 464) and another from Berlin (341) tell of a similar embassy to Trajan.

F. Münzer, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des Plinius*, collects passages from XXXIV 9-80 dealing with the development of working in bronze, and from XXXV treating of pottery and painting, which are all taken from Xenokrates. Since he was himself an artist in bronze, his treatment is technical rather than historical, and he is guided mainly by his own artistic judgment. Other portions of Pliny are referred to the learned Antigonos, who worked over Xenokrates, adding material from other authorities and quoting from poets and epigrams. Duris is another source traceable in several places. He is fond of contests of artists, the relations of master to pupil, women in art, love-stories, etc. Further examination discloses some new data from Varro and a few statements due to Pasiteles. Remarks on imported luxuries go back to Nepos, strange and wonderful stories to the traveller Mucianus. Accounts of works of art located in central Greece are from Xenokrates, in the islands and Asia from Mucianus, in Rome from Varro.

C. Pascal, *De Cereris atque Iunonis castu* (CIL. VI 357). *Castus Cereris* is not 'fasting' (Arnob. V 16 refers to consecrated bread, Dionys. I 33 to libations with water), but the chastity enjoined upon women at the August festival of Ceres. *Castus Iunonis* has a similar meaning (cf. Ov. Fast. II 557 ff.), and was in force during the February festival of Juno Lucina, when virgins offered food to a snake (Prop. IV 8. 7 ff.) living in a cave, probably in the grove of that goddess near S. Lucia in Selci. This rite was brought to Rome from Lanuvium.

P. de Winterfeld, *De tribus Germanici locis*, defends 622 by comparing 605 and 626, 673; reads *Tunc repit Cynosura alte* in 313 and *Quin etiam Lyræ*

Mercurio dilecta, deorum Accepta est proli. Caelo nitet ante labore Defectam effigiem in 270-2; in 272 connects *laeva* with *planta*.

L. Mitteis, Zur Berliner Papyruspublication. The documents bearing on civil law are classified as I. Suits at law, II. Contracts. I. Complaints were made to the centurion as a police-officer or to the strategus of the *νομός*. The latter merely prepared the cases for the *conventus iuridicus* of the prefect of Egypt, and complaints had to be lodged at least ten days beforehand. Suits were also entered directly with the *iuridicus* of Alexandria and, if allowed, were adjudged by him at his *conventus*. Both prefect and *iuridicus* could delegate their authority, in some cases even to a strategus. Jury-trial was unknown in Egypt. II. Contracts were recorded at the *ἀγορανομεῖον* by Greeks, at the *γραφεῖον* by Egyptians. Record of the transfer of real estate was kept merely for the information of the tax-gatherer. Among other details, we learn that the rental system pressed hard on the poor, and tenantry at will was in force, that antichresis was practised in Egypt at least, that the elder son inherited two-thirds of the property, and that as early as 199 the right of *longi temporis possessio* was limited to ten or twenty years. *Μεσίτης* means (1) arbitrator, (2) witness at court, (3) administrator of a will (Gal. 3. 19), (4) *sequester*, (5) mortgager.

Miscellen.—U. Wilcken has examined the MS of Ar. Rep. Ath. and gives ten new readings, besides some thirty notes tending to confirm the text of Blass.—W. Soltan shows that Appian's account (B. Civ. I 7) of the *lex agraria* implies the existence of an earlier statute and that the Licinian law does not necessarily presume many large tenants of the *ager publicus*, so that the latter law may be as old as 367 B. C.—U. Koehler publishes two short dedicatory inscriptions from the Athenian acropolis, belonging to the empire.—K. Kalbfleisch publishes readings from a Paris MS (Suppl. grec. 687) containing part of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (agreeing with Laur. A^b), fragments of Philoponus' commentary to the *Analytica priora*, and a portion of the twelfth homily of Clement.

BARKER NEWHALL.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1893.

Fascicle 1.

1. Zum Panegyrikos des Isokrates, pp. 1-24. G. Friedrich proves that the Panegyric was written end of 385 or beginning of 384 B. C.
2. Zu Thukydides, pp. 25-33. Hugo von Kleist interprets and analyzes several passages of Thuc., book II, without resort to emendation or athetesis.
3. Zur Topographie von Alexandria, pp. 34-6. Juliopolis and Nikopolis Crusius identifies as two names for the same place.
4. Review of Maass' *Aratea* by F. Susemihl, pp. 37-48.
5. Der Angriff des M. Lepidus und M. Brutus auf das Reformwerk Sullas, pp. 49-63. Lepidus, Franke asserts, began his opposition to Sulla when he

entered upon his consulship, but secretly, and only openly after Sulla's death (Sallust, II 10 ff. notwithstanding).

6. Ueber *bidens hostia*, pp. 64-8. A. Nehring explains the phrase as signifying a sheep or other animal whose two middle milk teeth have been replaced by larger and permanent teeth. This occurs now in the case of sheep between the ages 1 and 1½, but may have happened in Roman times at the age of 2. *Ambidens* is identical with *bidens*.

7. Zum ersten und zweiten Buche des Quintilianus, pp. 69-78. Emendations of bks. I and II of Quintilian by Kiderlin.

8. Zu Valerius Maximus, p. 78. *deferrent* for *referrent*, VIII 10, 2, suggested by Stangl.

9. Statiana, pp. 79-80. Lundström reads *celebrant sua* for *celebrent tua*, Silv. II 4, 10, and *lites* for *litus*, III 5, 93.

Fascicle 2.

10. Vorhomerische Kampfschilderungen in der Ilias, pp. 81-94. Hermann Kluge demonstrates that in the Iliad are found descriptions of warriors (1) unarmed with the breast-plate, (2) with antique helmets lacking cheek, neck and forehead pieces, and (3) without greaves. All this corresponds with the representations found at Mycenae, and Kluge holds that the poet took these descriptions from older epics.

11. Inschriftliches, p. 94. Bencker discusses C. I. G. III, n. 6738.

12. Die Danaïdensage, pp. 95-112. W. Schwarz thinks that the origin of the Danaïdæ legend was an epic dealing with ships, the number 50 being fixed by the *πεντηκόντορος* and the names drawn (a) from the geographical knowledge of the day, (b) from names of ships, and (c) from Argive conditions. Name of the poem may have been Danaïs and the poet was Argive. Apollodorus drew his list of names from this poem, which was written 1000-800 B. C. Hyginus' list is later and not Argive.

13. Zur Odyssee, p. 112. Pökel refers *μν*, Od. γ 269, to the singer.

14. Review of Keil's Die Solonischen Verfassung in Aristoteles Verfassungsgeschichte Athens, by Fr. Cauer, pp. 113-20.

(13.) Zur Odyssee, p. 120. Interpretation of β 30 by Pökel.

15. Ueber den Verfasser des Buches *de mortibus persecutorum*, pp. 121-38. Brandt defends himself for the assertion that this work is not that of Lactantius against objections raised by Belser and Jüllicher.

16. Fragmente einer Handschrift des Macrobius- und Plinius-excerpte, pp. 139-43. Discussion of the Macrobius and Pliny excerpts on ten parchment leaves found in Cologne in 1889. A. Behr.

17. Zur Schillers Uebersetzung der Aeneide, pp. 143-4. Rubensohn points out Schiller's misunderstanding of Aen. II 174 f.

18. Miscelle, p. 144. Pökel reprints a Greek poem, written by Nauck in 1852/3, regarding Ellendt's Lexicon Sophocleum.

Fascicle 3.

19. ΤΗΡΕΙΔΟΥΤ ΚΑΤ' ΑΘΗΝΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ, pp. 145-61. Text and critical notes by Blass.

20. Zu Xenophons Anabasis, pp. 161-2. Note on Anab. IV 3, 10 by Ernst Hasse.

21. Der dualis bei Polybius, pp. 162-4. Note on Polyb. III 51 by Ernst Hasse.

22. Review of Giuseppe Jorio's Un codice ignorato delle Elleniche: ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΤΑ ΠΑΡΑΛΕΙΠΟΜΕΝΑ ΑΠΕΡ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΕΚΑΔΕΞΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΟΚΤΩ ΒΙΒΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΑ, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 165-76, by Fr. Reuss.

23. Die Gründung von Tarent, pp. 177-92. The Partheniae, according to Geffcken, are the original inhabitants of Laconia who were not enslaved when Laconia was captured by the Dorians. During the Messenian wars they revolted and were allowed to leave the country, thus founding Tarentum. They were Achaeans, and Tarentum was therefore not a Doric colony. Name Partheniae comes perhaps from the name of the mountain which separated Arcadia from Argos.

24. Zu Aristoteles Politik, p. 192. Susemihl defends his rejection of Pol. II 8, 1267 B, 22-28, as interpolation.

25. Zu Plautus, pp. 193-9. Emendation of Pers. 140, Menaech. 89, Capt. 912, Trin. 823, by Julius Lange, to which is added a note by Fleckeisen upon the monstrosity *reddux* in the Capt. passage.

26. Zu Terentius Phormio, pp. 199-200. Fleckeisen suggests *abin hinc in crucem* in Phorm. 368.

27. *Ante annos*, vor Jahren, pp. 201-2. C. F. W. Mueller shows that Petschenig's addition of *paucos* to this phrase in Amm. XXVI 10, 5 is groundless.

(15.) Pp. 203-23. Continuation and conclusion of No. 15, pp. 121-38.

28. Zu Ciceros Dialog Hortensius, p. 224. Explanation of frag. Cic. 99 (Mueller) by T. Stangl.

Fascicles 4-5.

29. Die Zinsurkunde zu Ol. 88. 3-89. 2 (C. I. A. 273), pp. 225-60. An exhaustive discussion of Boeckh's and Kubicki's interpretation of this inscription by G. F. Unger.

(20.) Zu Xenophons Anabasis, p. 260. Boehme would read *φρουραρχίας* for *φρούρια* in Anab. I 4, 15.

30. Urteile griech. Prosaiker der class. Zeit über die Stellung der griech. Frau, pp. 261-76. The testimony of Hdt., Xen., Plato, Aristotle and the orators, Th. Matthias holds, agrees with that of the poets to the effect that the position of woman in classic Greek times was much more favorable than appears from the testimony of the law or than has been generally believed.

31. Die Reihenfolge der Tragoedien in Aischylos Prometheia, pp. 276-82. Bussler defends the order *πυρφόρος, δεσμώτης, λυόμενος*.

32. Zu Platons Philebos, pp. 283-8. Emendation and exegesis of fifteen passages of the Philebus by Apelt.

33. Kritische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte Timoleons, pp. 289-98. Ch. Classen concludes with this article the critical discussion of the testimony of Diodorus and Plutarch regarding the last years of Timoleon.

34. Zur Kosmogonie der Stoiker, pp. 298-300. A. Häbler interprets the MSS readings of Kleomedes, I 1, 6 f.

35. Juliopolis und Nikopolis, pp. 301-4. Refutation by W. Schwarz of Crusius' statement (pp. 34 ff. of this journal) that Juliopolis and Nicopolis were identical.

36. Die Reihenfolge der Briefe des ersten Buchs von Horatius und das Verhältniss zwischen Horatius und Maecenas vom Jahr 21 an, pp. 305-20. Th. Oesterlen dates the epistles of the first book of Horace as follows: 23 B. C. epist. 13, 4, 2, 5, 6; 22 B. C. 19, 17, 14, 16; 21 B. C. 9, 7, 10, 3, 15; 20 B. C. 20, 11, 8, 18, 12, 1.

(32.) Zu Platons Philebus, p. 320. Apelt emends 49 A.

37. Die Häfen von Karthago, pp. 321-32. R. Oehler, incited by Torr's topographical study of the two harbors of Carthage (Class. Rev. 1891), undertakes a minute and detailed study of the same topic, showing wherein Torr's views are erroneous.

38. Zu Terent. Hautontimoroumenos, p. 332. Fleckeisen emends v. 937 by a change of the word-order.

39. Zu Ovidius Metamorphosen, pp. 333-6. X 183 ff., XV 364 and VII 836 emended by O. Stange.

40. Zu den Handschriften des Lucanus, pp. 337-53. The value of M (Montepessulanus) in distinction from V (Vossianus) is emphasized by C. Hosius.

41. Zu Tacitus Agricola, pp. 353-6. *amaritiam* is suggested by Hachtmann for *avaritiam* in Agric. 9.

42. Zu Caesar de bello gallico, pp. 357-61. J. Lange suggests emendations to five passages of Caesar's Gallic War.

43. Ueber die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians gegen die Germanen, pp. 362-8. Libanius and Ammianus found material for their history of Julian in a work treating of Julian's expeditions written either by Julian himself or by Magnus Carrenus. The existence of such a work is asserted by W. Koch.

Fascicle 6.

44. Steinhäufen als Fluchmale, Hermesheiligthümer und Grabhügel in Griechenland, pp. 369-95. The Modern Greek custom of heaping up piles of stones upon the spot where some offence against a community has been committed, each passer-by casting a stone upon the pile, as a curse to the author of the offence, is traced by B. Schmidt to prehistoric days. It gave way in the times of ancient Greece to the erection of stone-heaps in honor of Hermes (*Ἑρμαία*), but when the old religion died out the ancient custom was revived.

45. Theognidea, pp. 395-8. Peppmueller reconstructs three elegies of Theognis.

46. De Aristophanis Avium versu 586, pp. 399-400. R. Helm proposes a solution of the *crux* in Aves 586.

47. Zu Platons Gorgias, pp. 401-2. γράμματα (Gorg. 484 A) P. Meyer interprets as "written magical formulae."

48. Zum griechischen Roman, pp. 403-8. G. Thiele defends his interpretation of Cic. de inv. I 19, 27 against the attack by Rohde.

49. Oppiani Cilicis codicum in bibliothecis horum adservatorum series, pp. 409-16. An enumeration of all the existing Oppian MSS by R. Vári.

50. Zu Manilius, pp. 417-23. Th. Breiter defends the readings of the Manilius MS at Madrid in thirty-seven passages.

51. Ueber zwei Briefe Ciceros an C. Trebonius, pp. 424-32. W. Sternkopf finds that Epist. XV 21 was sent by Cicero at the end of 708 or beginning of 709 from his country estate, while XV 20 dates from his return to Rome shortly after.

(25.) Zu Plautus, p. 432. Stichus 145 is explained by Julius Lange.

FRANK LOUIS VAN CLEEF.

BRIEF MENTION.

In ordinary times the Editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY has toiled after the accumulation of recent 'literature' in vain. Few, very few of the books received have attained to a notice; and the arrearages, great at any rate, have grown very much during the six months' absence of the Editor. True, the Journal has repeatedly given warning that it recognizes no obligation to review every book that is sent in. Not only is the space allotted to the review-department too small, but even if there were space enough, a periodical that depends wholly on unpaid contributions cannot always command a kind of talent that finds a ready market elsewhere. A list of contributors prepared for another purpose reveals but too clearly that the steady workers for the Journal are very few, and the fissiparous multiplication of philological publications has limited more and more the sources of supply. But the increasing difficulty of the task does not diminish the Editor's sense of duty, nor cause him to bate a jot of heart or hope, and so, after thanking publicly his friend, Dr. C. W. E. MILLER, for seeing the two preceding numbers through the press, he takes full charge again and begins a new series of the 'native-wood notes' that bear the superscription 'Brief Mention.'

With the appearance of Professor JEBB's *Ajax* (New York, The Macmillan Co.), the most considerable edition of Sophokles in English—it might be safe to say in any language—is complete. There remains, it is true, a volume that is to treat of the fragments, but the editing of fragments, while it brings into play many of the finest faculties of the scholar, does not give scope to the larger aesthetic judgments for which we look to Professor JEBB. In 1869 Professor JEBB put forth a smaller edition of the *Ajax* in the *Catena Classicorum*, but he almost disclaims any connection with that earlier production, and emphasizes the fact that the present work is a new one throughout. To be sure, Professor JEBB's work on the *Catena Classicorum* was such as no scholar need be ashamed of, and it is not surprising that the companion volume, the *Electra*, was soon reproduced in this country with a number of schoolboy additions and unscholarly blunders, which stirred my indignation at a time when I thought indignation worth while. In a forgotten number of a forgotten educational journal, I published a somewhat tart review of Professor JEBB's adapter, and at the same time took occasion to rub off some of the rust that in my judgment had clung to the *Catena Classicorum*. In looking over my marginal notes on the *Ajax* made at the time, I am interested to find that at nearly every point at which I ventured to differ with Professor JEBB, Professor JEBB has since differed from himself, and this would give me courage to discuss the points that still remain, if the kind of criticism in which I usually indulge were not of the minuscule order, which is somewhat out of place when one is congratulating so eminent a scholar on the happy completion of the great work of his life. In this notice, at least, he shall have an ἀφθόνητος αἶνος.

It may have seemed to some that I was too harsh in my recent comment (XVI 527) on Mr. FORBES's reading Thuk. I, 46, where he prints *ἐξεῖσαι* for *ἐξέησαι*. *ἐξεῖσαι* has not only the best MS warrant, but is found in Bekker's stereotyped edition and also in Boehme. But to retain *ἐξεῖσαι* as a present in Thukydides, in deference to any MS, is a superstition and, which is worse, exposes the editor to a fulmination from Dr. RUTHERFORD, who is never weary of thundering about the obvious. So, months after this Journal had said what was necessary about Kaiser's nonsense touching *φημί ὅτι* (XVI 395), the editor of Phrynichus, in utter disregard of the old maxim *actum ne agas*, brings the whole thing up again in the Classical Review for February, 1896. But, however unjustifiable I may have been in my comment on Mr. FORBES, who has a right to be as superstitious as he pleases about MSS, I can hardly go wrong in saying that I was unpleasantly surprised at finding, in an excellent little school-book by that admirable scholar, Dr. SANDYS, *First Greek Reader and Writer*, under *εἰμι* a sentence adapted from Thuk. I, 46, and running: *ἐξεῖσαι παρὰ Χειμέριον ἢ Ἀχερουσία λίμνη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν*. Immediately afterwards we have the normal use in *ἄπει*, and if Thukydides is to be followed so closely, why not *εἰς θάλασσαν*? Assuredly in school-books, if anywhere, the norm is to be observed, and we must not have *εἰμι* used as a present, nor *τε* coupling two words, nor *περί* with acc. after a verb of saying, no matter how much they may be justified by examples from Greek at large. All this is very schoolmasterly, and may be considered unsuitable for a philological journal. Not unsuitable for a philological journal, however, is a hearty greeting to Dr. SANDYS's third edition of Part II of the *Select Private Orations of Demosthenes*, in which he shows his wonted alacrity in looking up the new literature, and in which, by the way, he quotes Dr. KIRK's dissertation on *Demosthenic Style in the Private Orations*, a treatise well worthy of such distinction.

In a little volume entitled *Greek Notes, Revised*, a scholar whose name will not be mentioned, for reasons which will appear, has put together a number of formulae which he has found useful in his classes. Not a few of these formulae I also had found useful when said scholar was still in pinafores, and in fact had framed them myself. Representations were made to the notetaker and note-maker that some acknowledgment was due to the source of some of those formulae. With all promptness he disclaimed any intention of surreptitious work, and declared that he had frequently told his classes that such and such formulae had been learned in my school. He thought, it seems, that the 'general acknowledgment in the preface was sufficient.' As prefaces are seldom read with care, it may be as well to quote the acknowledgment: 'The ordinary grammars have been freely used, and it has not been thought necessary to indicate the sources of special matters.' As I have not yet attained to the dignity of an ordinary Greek grammar, I am at a loss to see how the work on which I have spent much thought and toil for many years is acknowledged at all. But as the acknowledgment is quite as ample as I have found in more exalted quarters, I forbear to press the matter.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, New York, for material furnished.

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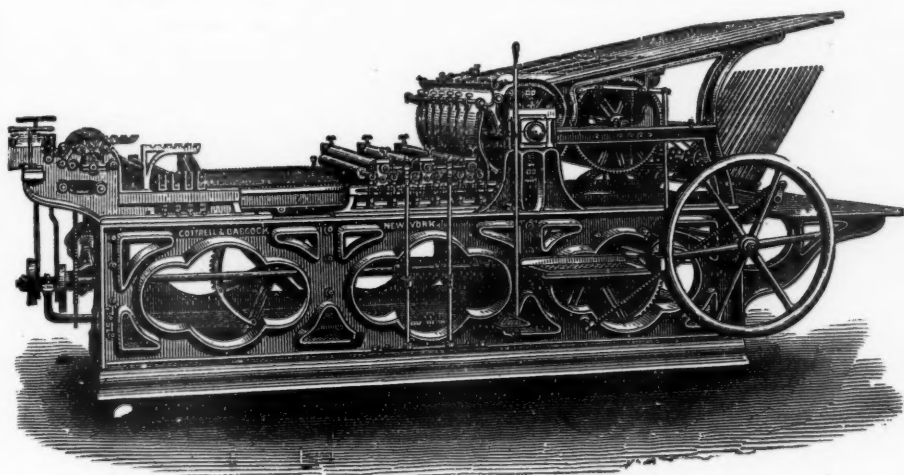
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